

ULWAZI LWEMVELI: THE POWER OF INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

This thesis is titled *Ulwazi lwemveli*, which translates to indigenous knowledge from isiXhosa. The purpose of the research was to promote indigenous knowledge, because it is being dominated by Western knowledge. The aim of this study is to regard indigenous knowledge as equal to Western knowledge in terms of how it operates in life. My aim is not to make a claim that indigenous knowledge is pure: I am aware that indigenous knowledge is entangled with Western knowledge. Black people suffered discrimination during the colonial and apartheid eras. The injustices of the past created unfair conditions faced by indigenous knowledge in the current times. During the colonialism, the culture of black people was associated with being 'uncivilised'. Black people are suffering from the effects of colonialism and apartheid.

The thesis focuses on the Xhosa beadwork, which is used as a form of expression by the Xhosa people. Glass beads are hybrids in the Xhosa culture, they were introduced by the Europeans. The Xhosa people adopted and appropriated them with new meaning. The meaning of different colours of beadwork in the Xhosa culture, is explained by the participants during the interviews. A case study design was deemed appropriate for this research study. Six participants, who reside in Khayelitsha and Kayamandi who poses knowledge about Xhosa beadwork and Xhosa attires were interviewed in their natural settings their homes.

The findings and conclusions reveals that Xhosa beadwork is entangled with Xhosa spirituality: the ancestors choose the colour of beadwork for the initiate. This is done through dreams, the initiate dreams of the colours of beadwork he/she must wear. During *ukuthwasa* (training to become a Xhosa traditional healer) a different colour of beadwork is added on the initiate, to show that he/she has passed a certain stage. Xhosa spirituality also accommodates white traditional healers: Xhosa traditional healers can also train white traditional healers through Xhosa spirituality.

Opsomming

Hierdie proefskrif is getiteld *Ulwazi lwemveli*, wat vertaal van isiXhosa na 'inheemse kennis'. Die doel van die navorsing is om inheemse kennis te bevorder, omdat dit deur Westerse kennis oorheers word. Die doel van hierdie studie is om inheemse kennis te sien wat op dieselfde vlak as die Westerse kennis werk. My doel is nie om te beweer dat inheemse kennis suiwer is nie: ek is bewus daarvan dat inheemse kennis verstrengel is met Westerse kennis. Daar is teen Swartmense gediskrimineer tydens die koloniale en apartheidsera. Die ongeregthede van die verlede het in die huidige tye onregverdige toestande vir inheemse kennis geskep. Tydens kolonialisme is die kultuur van swartmense geassosieer met wat as 'onbeskaafd' beskou word. Swartmense ly dus onder die gevolge van kolonialisme en apartheid.

Die tesis fokus op Xhosa-kralewerk, wat deur die Xhosa-mense as 'n vorm van uitdrukking gebruik word. Al was glaskrale deur die Europeërs bekendgestel, het dit gemeng met die Xhosa-kultuur. Die Xhosa-mense het hulle met nuwe betekenis aangeeem en toegeëien. Die betekenis van verskillende kleure kralewerk in die Xhosa-kultuur word deur die deelnemers tydens die onderhoude verduidelik. 'n Gevallestudie-ontwerp is as toepaslik vir hierdie navorsing beskou. Ses deelnemers, wat in Khayelitsha en Kayamandi woon, wat kennis oor Xhosa-kralewerk en Xhosa-kleredrag lewer, is ondervra in hul natuurlike omgewing.

Die bevindinge en gevolgtrekkings onthul dat Xhosa-kralewerk verstrengel is met Xhosa-spiritualiteit: die voorouers kies die kleur van die kralewerk vir die ingewydes. Dit word gedoen deur drome. Die ingewyde droom oor die kleure kralewerk wat hy/sy moet dra. Tydens ukuthwasa (opleiding om 'n Xhosa-tradisionele geneser te word) word 'n ander kleur kralewerk by die ingewyde bygevoeg om aan te toon dat hy/sy 'n sekere stadium geslaag het. Xhosa-spiritualiteit huisves ook wit tradisionele genesers: Xhosa tradisionele genesers kan ook wit tradisionele genesers oplei deur middel van Xhosa-spiritualiteit.

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As a black student coming from a previously disadvantaged background, my journey through tertiary level has not been easy: I am the first person in my family to obtain a bachelor's degree and now a Master's degree. This is great achievement and this means a lot to me and my family. I have inspired a lot of people in my family, some of whom never had an opportunity to study further, because of various reasons. I would like to thank the following people and institutions for their contribution to me as a person and for the overall success of this thesis. I would like to start by thanking my parents, especially my mother who raised me in Khayelitsha with the little that she had. I would like to thank my older brother Siviwe, you have been a role model and father to me when my biological father was not present. To my young sister Babalwa, thank you very much for always encouraging me to do better. To my late oldest brother Bonani, who passed away three years ago: rest in peace big brother. We will never forget you.

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Stellenbosch has become my second home where I met a lot of good people who have contributed to my growth as a person and as an academic. These people made sure that I manage to finish this degree: I would like to thank my friends Brandaan and Stephané for their support. I would like to thank my friend Lise, for always supporting me since undergraduate studies. I would also like to thank Isiphiwo Primary School for allowing me to work with their learners. To everyone in Khayelitsha, who has contributed to my growth as a person, thank you very much.

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and background to the research

The first part of the title of my research is *Ulwazi lwemveli*, which translates as Indigenous Knowledge from isiXhosa. In the African community ‘ulwazi lwemveli’ has been passed on mostly verbally from one generation to another in the form of stories, songs, and dance. All cultures have indigenous knowledge and there are differences and similarities between various knowledges. African Indigenous Knowledge (AIK),¹ a form of cultural currency, is different in many aspects from those found in European cultures. Because AIK has been passed on verbally in the home environment and not by way of books, archives or laboratories, formal education in AIKs does not exist and therefore acquiring AIK is not widespread or obvious (Kincheloe 1999). Mapesela (2004) stresses that indigenous knowledge, like any knowledge, is constantly in flux and changes all the time in different circumstances. It is difficult to precisely describe AIK because it differs from region to region and because it is always in flux.

AIK was and is often still considered, from a Western perspective, as superstition, inferior and primitive. AIK has been undermined by colonialists since the beginning of the European scientific revolution of the 17th and 18th centuries. During European colonialization, the voices of the colonized were suppressed. Universities in many colonial countries were established and continued to adhere to the notion of Europe as the superpower (The Indigenous Knowledge Systems Policy 2004). The Western knowledge system is taken as the norm and seldom questioned (ibid.). The reality is that knowledge systems do not come into being through the efforts of one group – it is a conglomeration of many ideas that form a system over many years. Both the European and African claims of a separate IK system, is misplaced, because evolving knowledge is an entangled process. I argue that the African Indigenous Knowledge System (AIKS) was minimized by the colonialist and apartheid systems in South Africa. This study focuses on AIK and specifically on Xhosa beadwork as AIK manifest, as discussed later in the proposal.

1.2 Problem statement, research questions and study aims and objectives

¹ African Indigenous Knowledge: In the thesis, I will mostly use ‘AIK’ to refer to this knowledge, ‘IKS’ to refer to Indigenous Knowledge Systems, or ‘AIKS’ to refer to African Indigenous Knowledge Systems.

Colonialism imposed European culture onto the African community, an imposition that resulted in indigenous knowledge being undermined and virtually abandoned. As a result, indigenous knowledge has not been fully recognized by the current educational systems in South Africa, nor does it yet receive proper respect from a culturally diverse society. The secondary school system in South Africa does not reflect the cultures of various black groups and therefore reduces the integration of indigenous knowledge by a wider spectrum of learners in a culturally diverse country.

The importance of indigenous knowledge is overlooked by the formal education and training of corporates. Their priorities are to bring about upskilling, to increase competencies and to improve standards of work in general, including the production of research and scientific knowledge, which are key to participating in the new global economy. The present-day economic structures have globalized tertiary institutions, because knowledge is valued according to global capital, and the labour it can supply to the corporates to fulfil their visions of wealth.

I argue that, as a result, knowledge is not valued for its ability to enlighten or liberate, but only for its potential to enable materialist gain. Education produces human capital in which people compete for productivity and growth. The globalization of labour functions to equip learners with skills that meet the requirements of global economic structures and constantly upgrade their skills to compete at work. The educational institutional function is basically to produce and trade knowledge as a commodity for global corporations. In turn, global corporations have now become the main funders for research and development, rather than government.

In schools in South Africa black pupils are often expected to adapt to Western culture at the cost of their own cultural and personal histories, while white learners are not subjected to the same pressure. I consequently propose that the South African education system needs to better facilitate the incorporation of AIK into school curricula.

This research proposes the inclusion of AIK through implementing beadwork at schools. I argue for the hybridization of knowledge that finds a balance between the influences of Western and African Indigenous Knowledge Systems. AIK should be nurtured in art classes at primary and secondary school levels. Although a degree of hybridity is already being accomplished, problems around cultural exclusivity continue. The notion of hybridity, which in the context of this research would comprise the combination of Western indigenous knowledge and AIK in SA, is at the core of the project.

This research therefore aims to explore AIK systems, with specific focus on the Xhosa culture in South Africa. The objects that I investigate are traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork. The data was collected from Xhosa bead artists and historical writing about Xhosa beadwork. Taking into consideration the above-mentioned arguments, the main research question can be formulated as follows:

How can beadwork contribute to the promotion of AIK in a South African context?

The sub-questions are as follows:

- a) How and to what extent did hybridization between Europe and Africa contribute to Xhosa beadwork?
- b) How can the acquisition of AIK through beadwork be promoted in the school curriculum?

The aim of this research is to promote AIKs and thereby to encourage the South African youth to embrace different cultures.

The objectives of the research are:

- a) Explore Xhosa beadwork and establish to what extent beadwork can contribute to the promotion of AIK in a South African context
- b) Explore how hybridization contributed to Xhosa beadwork
- c) Explore how AIK through beadwork could be promoted in the school curriculum

1.3 Overview of Research Methodology

In this study, I will use a case study method to collect qualitative data. A case study is suitable because I can collect in-depth information from the interviewees (Creswell 2003). I will conduct semi-structured interviews to collect the qualitative data which will give me the flexibility to adjust my core list of questions, if necessary. I will use written notes and a voice recorder to record the interviews. I will interview five people working with beadwork in Kayamandi and Khayelitsha for one to two hours and observe their working process and the meaning behind their work. I might have to go back for second or third visits to establish some level of confidence and trust so that the bead workers, if they are women, will feel comfortable with me as a man observing their work process.

All interviews will take place at the participant's homes or place of work. I will also do an analysis of historical Xhosa beadwork and its symbolic language in conjunction with the interviews of contemporary beadwork artists.

All participants will sign a consent form before the interviews start. They will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage and they will be assured in the consent form that their information will be kept confidential. Codes will be used instead of the participants' names. I will apply for ethical clearance from the Stellenbosch University REC committee. In my thesis, I will elaborate on the validity and trustworthiness (credibility, transferability, dependability, conformability, and triangulation) of the study.

I will copy the information to my laptop and an additional copy will be kept on a flash drive as a backup. I will keep the information safe by adding a password to my computer so that other people cannot access the data. I will be the only one that will have access to the data. I will share this data with my supervisor if necessary. The data will be erased after five years.

The qualitative data that I will collect will be analyzed using content analysis (See table 4.1). I will read the data and then divide it into sections. The sections will become codes and the codes will become the themes that I will discuss in my Data and Discussion chapter.

1.4 Boundaries and limitations of the study

This research will explore AIK with a specific focus on the Xhosa culture in South Africa. I will investigate traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork. I intend this research to contribute positively to society, especially to the previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa. This research aims to further promote AIK, especially at school level. I believe that children are more open-minded than adults, because it is much easier for them to learn about other people's culture and in doing that, attain a more hybrid society. However, because I looked empirically at AIK as it relates to Xhosa culture, I only engage theoretically with the forms of beadwork that are used by other African groups in South Africa, such as the Zulu people in KwaZulu Natal.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY

The first chapter addresses the main topic, which is about promoting African Indigenous Knowledge Systems in South Africa. The chapter provides research questions, study aims, objectives and briefly discusses methodology.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The theoretical perspective produces the conceptual framework for the research. Three main theories relate, namely:

- Indigenous Knowledge
- Hybridization
- Education

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

This chapter contextualizes the study in relation to the following contexts:

- Global context
- South African context
- Township context

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides motivation for using a qualitative approach to conducting the study. It also talks about the interviewing process and ethical implications of the study.

CHAPTER 5: DATA AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents the themes that I delineated in Chapter Two, which shares the theoretical perspective and my observations.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a conclusion and implications for the research.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses Indigenous Knowledge. I argue that the South African government should include Indigenous Knowledge Systems in school curricula as equal in status and recognition to Western Knowledge Systems. I acknowledge that IKS is not stagnant, that it evolves over time, and that it is intertwined with Western knowledge. Black people in South Africa have Africanized external cultural influences to create hybrid forms. For example, the Xhosa people have assimilated the craft of glass beadwork into their cultural identity through the historical trade relationships that they had maintained with other cultural groups. This chapter also considers the transformation of IKS into commodities that fill hundreds of curio shops in the larger South African cities, where trade in 'curios' capture the tourist market.

2.2 Indigenous Knowledge

According to Costello, traditional beadwork is a primary means of artistic expression among Xhosa-speaking people and although glass beads did not originally feature in their material culture, they were very quickly assimilated and became a cultural tradition. This played an important role in all aspects of their Xhosa society (Costello: 1990, 35). Xhosa people use beadwork especially as a form of expression to communicate certain meanings between people. Through their understanding of beadwork, they communicate with their fellow tribe members, including their ancestors. For instance, in the early stages of becoming a traditional healer, the ancestors come to the novice healer in the form of a dream to inform him/her which colour of beadwork to wear. The Xhosa people have been wearing beadwork for many centuries, even before the arrival of the glass beads in the Eastern Cape. Before the introduction of glass beads in the Xhosa community, Xhosa-speaking people made beads from natural objects which were available at the time. Costello states that Xhosa people used to make beads from natural materials, such as ostrich egg shells, which were chipped and grounded to the approximate size, bored and polished before being strung. They also made metal beads, because they polished well and were durable. Other ornamentation consisted of animal teeth and horn, bone, ivory, slats of sandalwood and other woods, seeds and roots of

plants as well as shells (Costello: 1990, 2). The following quote talks about the arrival of glass beads in the Xhosa community:

The first glass beads were brought to Southern Africa by Arab slave traders, then in larger quantities by the Portuguese and later still, by the Dutch and the English. An estimated 80 million beads were landed on the East African coast in the years 1508 to 1509, and through existing indigenous trade routes some of these reached the Xhosa. After the Dutch and later the English settlements were established at the Cape, imported beads became more freely available but remained expensive (Costello: 1990, 2).

The Xhosa people did not manufacture glass beads themselves – they traded with white traders and missionaries by exchanging their goods for glass beads, or bought them at local trading stores. For example, glass beads would be exchanged for cow, ivory, and other goods. According to Costello, the size of the glass beads played an important role when purchasing glass beads. Size determined the price of the glass beads and consequently larger beads were more expensive than others. Costello draws a comparison between two types of glass beads, namely *intsimbi* and *amaso*, and they differ in sizes. Costello states that *intsimbi* are the smallest variety available in the trading stores, while *amaso* which are said to resemble eyeballs are the largest variety.

During the colonial and apartheid periods, beading was a craft practiced mostly by women in the Xhosa community, because mothers and their daughters were left behind at home in rural areas, while men were in the cities working as migrant workers. Nowadays beading is also practiced by men if they are skilled, because one can also make a living by beading.

It is therefore clear that, even though the Xhosa people have been wearing beads for a long time, glass beads is an assimilated craft. It was brought to the Eastern Cape by the Europeans. According to the Xhosa culture, plastic beads known as *amaso* are mostly worn by Xhosa boys in cultural events, known as *umtshotsho*. *Amagqirha* (Xhosa traditional healers) also wear *amaso* (plastic beads) in combination with other glass beads. In the Xhosa culture, most people still wear glass beads, and few of them wear plastic beads.

In the Xhosa culture, glass beadwork reflects the organization of Xhosa society. Social structures in the Xhosa culture comprise a series of clearly defined levels through which each member of the

society passes. According to Dubin (1987: 137) passage from one level to the next is signaled by changes in ornamentation, including beadwork, and in clothes. These levels are important in that they give stability to the social structure since specific responsibilities, obligations and privileges are associated with each level. Beadwork can also communicate the wearer's rank, wealth and status. Beadwork serves to unify the community and to record the customs and history of a people that does not have a tradition of written literacy. In a culture where there is no written record, beadwork can serve as a legal document in a traditional court in cases such as breach of promise or adultery. In this sense, Xhosa beadwork represents a visual text that can signify meaning like any other sign.

The colours of beadwork and red ochre are used to convey information to the observer. They warn others of the wearer's condition. For example, those who are excluded from normal public life such as those in mourning, remove all beadwork and other ornamentation and refrain from using red ochre. The absence of any beadwork and red ochre on a person's body indicates that they are going through a period of abnormality. This abnormality can only be restored by means of ritual killing of an animal or, in some cases, by the offering of beer in honour of the ancestors. Widowers and other kin of the deceased mourn for one month, but widows are expected to mourn for a year. The following quote confirms the Xhosa people's belief in the Creator and the ancestors, and their practicing of ritual killings to restore normality or end abnormalities. As Costello explains:

The reason for this ritual killing is that the Xhosa, by tradition, have an ancestor cult. They believe in a Creator who cares for them in greater matters of life and protects them in extreme danger, but it is the ancestral spirits who watch over their daily affairs and as such they must be informed regarding this restoration to normal public life (Costello 1990: 13)

Indigenous Knowledge Systems, as described above, needs to be promoted to achieve cultural hybridization with Western Knowledge Systems. We need to develop Indigenous Knowledge Systems to the same level as Western Knowledge Systems to accomplish cultural equality and understanding of all knowledge as diverse and fluid. African knowledge systems respect nature, and they understand that nature and culture are intertwined. Indigenous elders use myth to encourage the community to respect nature. In the Xhosa nation, there are clans named after certain animals, and the members of those clans are expected to respect and protect those animals. For example, some clans are named after baboons (*Mfene*), snakes (*Majola*), and elephants (*Ndlovu*). The members of these clans respect these animals and they do not hunt them. When a baby is born into the

Majola clan (snake), a snake named Majola visits the new born baby and whenever the baby falls ill, Majola visits again to check up on the baby. The members of the Majola clan are not allowed to kill Majola (snake), because they will be punished by the ancestors. The *sangomas* respect nature, because they get medicine from plants and they also must go to the river to connect with the ancestors. This shows that African culture is one with nature, because the myths that support the values of African culture revolve around nature.

I argue that indigenous knowledge should be promoted to enjoy the same level of recognition in schools as Western knowledge. There are advantages and disadvantages when you promote Indigenous Knowledge Systems, because you show people from around the world your culture. The black people in South Africa were discriminated against during Apartheid, which included dismissing AIK as unimportant and primitive. By acknowledging the existence and value of AIK, we go some way towards correcting the injustices of the past so that we can move forward as a united country. When we (Xhosa cultural activists) promote indigenous knowledge, we are not discriminating against white people, but we are trying to help the black people to catch up and to gain pride in their past and present cultural identity. Some of the advantages of promoting indigenous knowledge are equality and fairness. Traditionalists portray IKS as something great, authentic, and different to other groups from around the world.

We (Xhosa cultural activists) also should point out the disadvantages regarding IKS, because such knowledge is mostly constructed by the dominant people in the group, which are mostly men. Men tend to construct IKS in a way that it favours them. In traditional South African black culture men are considered the heads of households, and women are perceived as beneath men, inferior and less powerful. In the past men used to marry young girls between the ages of 15 and 16, a practice that now would be considered illegal. The male construct of women as being inferior also (in the male mind) justified the taking of such young brides as perfectly acceptable and women had no right to refuse or object to such marriages.

Culture is not stagnant, it evolves over time and intertwines with other cultures. When we fight for indigenous knowledge, we need to acknowledge that it has been entangled with other cultures, as has Western culture. Yet, Xhosa traditionalists do not want culture to evolve, change, or grow over time, because they assume it might lose its authenticity and meaning. Xhosa traditionalists regard themselves as the custodians of the Xhosa culture. They do not allow people to tamper with their culture, because it is part of their identity. People tend to place more value on authenticity than

fluidity. That is one of the reasons why there are museums and historians – they ‘freeze’ the cultural markers associated with specific eras as a way of preserving culture.

Some Xhosa cultural activists do not criticize their own culture, because they see it as disrespect to the ancestors. There is a film, for example, called *Inxeba: The Wound* (2017), which is based on Xhosa initiation practices, and a hidden homosexual romance. The Xhosa king and cultural activists wanted the film to be banned, because they said it disrespects Xhosa culture. Some Xhosa men said the film reveals secrets that are taught in the initiation school. The main actor who played a homosexual character in the film was threatened by some Xhosa men. They wanted to kill him and he is now based in Europe. Most people are very passionate about their culture, because it is ancient and it was practiced by their forebears. Culture might be intertwined with other cultures, but some people perceive it as pure, and they will do anything to protect it. This may show how some people will do anything for their religion and will go as far as killing other people for it.

The tourism industry misuses the concept of authenticity by staging African culture as a commodity, theatre for sale. For example, the government built cultural sites so that tourists could see how the black tribes used to live in South Africa ages ago. When we (Xhosa cultural activists) promote IKS, we can also turn it into a commodity as the tourism industry is based on making profit out of IKS. We could argue that the tourism industry creates jobs, and centuries ago exchanging cultural artefacts was a lucrative form of trade amongst people that resembles current business practices (curio shops and culture) that sustain the tourist industry.

African culture has been commercialised. There is a traditional Ndebele artist, named Ester Mahlangu: she collaborated with BMW and painted a car with the Ndebele patterns. There is also a designer from the Eastern Cape, named Laduma Ngxokolo who named his clothing label after the Xhosa nation (MaXhosa) and uses the Xhosa patterns in his fashion design. These artists are promoting their culture, but at the same time they have turned it into a commodity, because they are profiting out of it. The MaXhosa brand started out as a brand that caters for young Xhosa men who just came from the mountain, but now it caters for everyone and their clothes are expensive and in high demand internationally. The MaXhosa brand now caters for a wealthy customer which, I argue, means that the focus shifts from cultural identity to consumerist identity. At the same time, traditional Xhosa attire is also for sale on flea-markets or from anyone that makes them. Tourists can also get access to traditional attire, they are no longer exclusive to Xhosa people. Consequently, the meaning behind the traditional attire may become diluted. Some of the traditional attire is

meant for certain people within the group, like married women or married men, but if they are for sale to the broader public, it means everyone can and will wear them. South African Breweries has put Xhosa clan names on the packaging of Carling Black Label beer quarts, and some insurance companies have also included cows in their funeral cover adverts, because they know that most black people slaughter a cow or sheep when a family member passes away. These examples show that black South Africa cultures have been used extensively in the South African advertising industry to reach out to a black audience. The South African government also encourages tourists to come to South Africa and experience our culture. In continuing this discussion on the commodification of culture the following paragraph discusses authenticity in the tourism experience.

This part of the thesis will bring in a quotation that talks about authenticity in tourism experience, because I want to show how the authenticity of culture influences tourism. Ning Wang talks about authenticity in tourism, and mentions that there are three different types of authenticity (objective authenticity, constructive or symbolic authenticity, and existential authenticity) (Wang: 1999, 350). This part of the paper will apply these different types of authenticity in my thesis, so that I can support my argument. When we promote Indigenous Knowledge Systems, we tend to become very passionate and talk about it as something authentic and something that defines who we are as black people. The tourism industry is another way of promoting IKS, but we commodify the culture to attract tourists. For instance, the tourism department in KwaZulu Natal will guarantee tourists a Zulu cultural experience, whereby the tourists will learn about Zulu culture. The authenticity of the Zulu culture is staged as something historical and part of an imagined, stagnant past, yet contemporary Zulu people have mostly embraced modernization and typically no longer wear animal skin. Some Zulu people do, however, wear traditional attires on certain occasions, and some of the traditional attires have been modernized. Even the wild animals are no longer freely roaming around. In the provinces of Limpopo and Mpumalanga the Kruger National Park delimits the territory of the Big Five, the lion, leopard, elephant, rhinoceros, and African buffalo. For instance, *Umbhlaselo* (traditional attire for men, made from cloth) and *imbadada* (traditional sandals, with soles cut from vehicle tires). *Umbhlaselo* is a modernized Zulu traditional attire. Zulu men can wear it, instead of *isibheshu* (animal skin). There are tourism sites in KwaZulu with typical Zulu huts, inhabitants wearing 'traditional' attire, and doing the Zulu dance. The reason for that is because tourism is linked with a perception of cultural authenticity. When tourists visit a certain country, they want to experience something different from other countries and something they perceive as culturally authentic.

This paragraph talks about how the Zulu culture is staged by the tourist industry to appear authentic to tourists. The paper uses a quote by Wang, to support the argument that culture is also constructed to attract tourists:

By constructive authenticity it is meant as the result of social construction, not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited. Things appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers (1999: 351).

Wang's understanding of authenticity refers to the statements above, that authenticity is staged by tourism producers, because indigenous cultures have modernized and shifted in the same way that all cultures change over time. Depicting Zulu culture through historical and stereotypical tropes stage culture as something it is not. Tourism producers build staged environments, so that tourists can see how indigenous people supposedly used to live. When tourists go to a certain country, they have expectations about that country. For instance, the Shaka Zulu story is famous and symbolic of Zulu culture, so some tourists expect to see Zulu people living the way they did during Shaka Zulu's time (the early nineteenth century). The government builds these tourist attractions for tourists, because they want the tourists to experience an imagined, historical Zulu culture.

The following quote talks about the "Objective authenticity" concept, and how the toured objects that museums display are presented as original:

Objective authenticity involves a museum-linked usage of the authenticity of the originals that are also the toured objects to be perceived by tourists. It follows that the authentic experience is caused by the recognition of the toured objects as authentic (Wang 1999: 351).

Objective authenticity is where tourists would go to museums and tourism sites and have an authentic experience of a culture. It is when tourists recognize the authenticity of the culture, and walk out feeling as though they have learnt a great deal about that culture. Some tourists come to South Africa, to learn about the different cultures in South Africa.

The following paragraph is about existential authenticity, which is about the underlying motivation of the tourists to undertake tours. For instance, a Zulu person who grew up in Europe and does not

know much about the Zulu language, may list a cultural site in the Zulu Kingdom and feel like they have learnt a great deal about the Zulu culture. Existential authenticity has nothing to do with whether the toured objects are real or not. In search of tourist experience which is existentially authentic, tourists are preoccupied with an existential state of being activated by certain tourist activities. To put it another way, existential experience is the authenticity of being which, as a potential, is to be subjectively or inter-subjectively sampled by tourists as the process of tourism unfolds. Wang stated that dance performance can be used to exemplify existential authenticity. (1999: 359). This is whereby the tourists take part in the activities, like doing traditional dances. It is about tourists having fun without being concerned about the authenticity of the culture.

2.3 Hybridization and Globalisation

The following quote states that hybridization is whereby a single entity is turned into many parts, making a sameness into difference. "Hybridization consists of turning a single entity into two or many parts, turning sameness into difference" (Young: 1995, 24). Hybridity thus makes difference into sameness, and sameness into difference, but in a way that makes the same no longer the same, the different no longer simply different (Young: 1995, 26). Hybridity does not have a single or correct concept, it changes while it repeats, and it also repeats while it changes.

Hybridity thus consists of a bizarre binate operation, in which each impulse is qualified against the other, forcing momentary forms of dislocation and displacement into complex economies of antagonistic reticulation. There is no single or correct concept of hybridity: it changes as it repeats, but it also repeats as it changes. It shows that we are still locked into parts of the ideological network of a culture that we think and presume that we have surpassed (Young, 1995, 27).

I want to also encourage hybridity, where we balance African knowledge with Western knowledge so that we can move forward as a country. I am aware that indigenous knowledge has been entangled with Western knowledge, and we cannot claim there is a pure culture. In South Africa, Western culture tends to dominate Indigenous Knowledge Systems, and this is because of the injustices of the past. The South African school curriculum does not reflect the Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The minister of education Angie Motshega is planning to make history compulsory at schools. She wants the school curriculum to be afrocentric (News 24). I support this initiative, because it is a step towards making cultural hybridity thrive fairly. As pointed out by Nkopodi and

Mosimege, “[t]he use of indigenous games in general in mathematics classrooms provides the learners with an opportunity to relate their experiences outside the classroom to mathematical concepts and processes encountered in their mathematics classrooms” (Nkopodi & Mosimege, 2009, 378). Nkopodi and Mosimege state that the morabaraba game can be used in the classroom to teach mathematics. This is the hybridity we need to promote, because it benefits everyone in South Africa.

I am for hybridization, but there should be a balance, Indigenous Knowledge Systems should enjoy the same recognition as Western knowledge. Black people should be given the right tools to promote indigenous knowledge, which includes changing the South African school curriculum to also reflect the black culture. The current South African school curricula contain mostly Western knowledge, which entails mostly subjects such as economics, mathematics, and science. We need to find a way to combine the African and Western knowledge systems.

The following paragraph gives an example of how IKS can be incorporated with Western knowledge in order to benefit the people of South Africa. Nkopodi & Mosimege argue that morabaraba (indigenous game) should be incorporated into mathematics curricula because black learners can relate to it. The authors explain that in the game “[e]ach player wishes to win the game while simultaneously having the same interpretation of the rules as the opponent. This is in line with mathematical problem solving, as certain rules have to be followed in solving a mathematical problem” (Nkopodi & Mosimege 2009, 379). Morabaraba is popular amongst black South Africans, and even in countries like Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland. Black miners used to play this game in mines, and the game encourages problem solving and unity. The pieces that are moved around the board, are referred to as cows, which shows how important this game is because cows symbolize wealth in Xhosa culture. This is more than a game to black people, it is where people gather around, and tell stories. The government needs to promote morabaraba, and start morabaraba clubs at schools and in communities.

Western culture can also be problematic if it is not applied in the right way. For instance, Kamuzu Banda, the first president of Malawi, used to ride around in a classic, out of place Rolls Royce. His successor, Bakili Muluzi rode the pitiable potholed roads in a state of the art Bentley (Lemu: 2018, 9). They took the democratic system, which is a Western philosophy, but they used it to oppress other black people. Some of the African leaders are corrupt, and they want to stay in power for a long time. Kwame Nkrumah states that African bourgeoisie tend to live the kind of life lived by the old colonial ruling class (Nkrumah: 1970, 25). In the South African context, the African National

Congress has created a black elite, while the rest of the people remain poor. The current government repeats some of the things that were done by the former regime. For example, the miners in Marikana were protesting for a better wage, and they were killed by police. Some of the black people were shocked that the black police killed the black miners in cold blood. There have been many incidents where black people are killed by police while protesting for service delivery.

After independence, conflict developed within the ANC Party between Right- and Left-wing elements. The Rightists became the Party nouveaux riche. They proceeded to make their fortunes once independence had been achieved, and the Party had become the governing Party. They still exploit their new positions of power and indulge in nepotism and corruption, thereby discrediting the ANC and helping to pave the way for reactionary *coups d'état* (Nkrumah: 1970, 32).

The paragraph above relates to the current situation at the ANC. The party is divided into two groups, the other group is siding with Jacob Zuma, and the other group is anti Zuma. The former ANC presidents: Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki, were perceived as pro west, because they were trading more with the West and were also popular in the Western countries. Zuma on the other side, is perceived as someone who is pro east. Zuma has been accused of being involved in corruption with the Guptas, business people from India. The corruption within the ANC government has a negative impact on the party. Some members of the party have left the ANC to form or join other political parties. Some of the members of the ANC are defending Zuma: they claim that White Monopoly Capital wants to discredit Zuma, because he is pushing the Radical Economic Transformation agenda. The corruption in the ANC has a negative impact on the country, because the money that is supposed to be used to build the country, is circulating amongst the corrupt politicians and the black elites. This shows that absolute power corrupts, because the white government has been replaced by the black government, but the poor people are still getting killed by police.

Some black pastors have also used religion to manipulate other black people. Churches have been into money making organisations, whereby the leaders are rich and the rest of the people are poor. For instance, there was a pastor who fed his congregation mouse, grass, snakes and made them drink petrol. The problem with this type of hybridization, it was forced on the African people by the West. Indigenous knowledge was undermined by the West, while Western knowledge dominated. Hybridity has also created a new identity, some of the African people have stopped practicing their culture, they have converted into Christianity. They see their culture as backwards, while

Western knowledge is progressive. They refer to themselves as born agains, which suggests that they have a new identity. This is the reason we need to promote indigenous knowledge systems, to be on the same level as Western knowledge. This thesis is not making a claim that the black African culture is pure. The African culture is already a hybrid, in fact there is no pure culture, because any culture is intertwined with other cultures. The paper has already stated some of the examples supporting the statement that the black African culture has been hybridized. For example, glass beads and *umbhaco*, which is a modernised Xhosa dress, would typify such cultural hybridization. It is difficult to point out a pure culture, if there is such a thing as a pure culture. At the same time, we need to nurture the little that we have. People have traded and exchanged cultures for centuries, but it becomes problematic when the other group forces their culture on the other group. People can exchange their culture, if there is mutual respect and agreement.

The following quote by Fanon, is about how in the olden days Antilles Negroes saw themselves as more civilised than the black Africans, because they were closer to the white man. Fanon writes as follows in this regard:

I have known and unfortunately I still know people born in Dahomey or the Congo who pretend to be natives of the Antilles; I have known, and still know, Antilles Negroes who are annoyed when they are suspected of being Senegalese. This is because the Antilles Negro is more civilised than the African, that is, he is closer to the white man (1952, 15).

Fanon's words relate how black people in the South African townships make fun of the black people from the rural areas whom they regard as backwards, because they are new to the city. Black people from the rural areas are also made fun of, for talking deep Xhosa², while people from the townships are considered smart for speaking English or slang. For example, most of the people from Gugulethu (a township in Cape Town) still call people from Khayelitsha (a township in Cape Town) *ibhari* (a backward person), because most of the people in Gugulethu were born in Cape Town, while most of the people in Khayelitsha were born in Eastern cape (rural areas). Some people born in the Eastern Cape (rural areas) pretend to be natives of Cape Town or that they were born in the cities in the Eastern Cape, because they are made to feel ashamed of being born in the rural areas. Being born in the city is associated with being civilized, because it is believed to be closer to white people.

² Deep Xhosa refers to pure Xhosa, uncontaminated by Western languages or urbanization.

The city is where people come to seek jobs and people compete to get jobs. In Cape Town, some of the coloured people feel the current government has neglected the coloured community and advanced the black community. There is a movement (mostly consisting of coloured people) called Gatvol Capetonian. They want the Xhosa people (black people) who were not born in Cape Town to go back to the Eastern cape, because they say they are taking all the jobs. The Gatvol Capetonian movement is also claiming their Khoi and San heritage. They state that they are aboriginal people; therefore, they have more rights to be in Cape Town than the black people.

The Gatvol Capetonian movement only asserts that black people who were not born in Cape Town should leave Cape Town. They do not assert that white people should leave Cape Town, because they are only competing with black people, so that they can get employed by white people. The Gatvol Capetonian, is also complaining that black people are building illegal shacks, they are burning tires and demanding free houses from the government, while the Coloured people are also in need of houses. There have been a lot of violent protests in South Africa, whereby the working class is demanding service delivery and better wages: in the process they burn schools, libraries, and loot shops. These protesters which are mostly black people from the townships, have been criticized for these acts (the burning of schools, libraries, and other illegal things), because it is their communities that will suffer the most. Zizek would describe this kind of act as subjective violence. According to Zizek, there are three modes of violence, namely subjective, objective, and symbolic. Subjective violence is the most visible of the three, because it describes physical acts of violence: protests, wars, terror (Zizek: 2009, 10). Objective violence is systemic violence that creates conditions for subjective violence to thrive. Systemic violence sustains the relations of domination and exploitation. Symbolic violence is hate speech (Zizek: 2009, 10). The violent protests and crime that is happening around the country, are the results of economics and politics, which would be considered as objective violence (systemic violence). The capitalist system is designed to keep the rich richer while the poor get poorer. The ANC government has created few black elites, while most black people are still living in poverty. The BEE (Black Economic Empowerment) programme was supposed to empower black people (the previously disadvantaged group), but because of corruption it failed its purpose. The rich people are shocked when seeing violent outbursts caused by the working class, but it is the systemic violence that is causing the commotion in the country. These are the results caused by the rich and politicians. There is a big gap between the rich and the poor in South Africa: for instance, in Cape Town, if you would compare the neighbourhoods of Khayelitsha and Constantia the inequality is quite clear.

2.4 Synthesis

This chapter has discussed Indigenous Knowledge Systems, which also includes the Xhosa beadwork. The Xhosa people have entangled glass beads with their culture, and gave glass beads a new meaning which is understood amongst the Xhosa people. Even though these glass beads were introduced by the Europeans, they have part of the Xhosa identity. As the meaning of beadwork in the Xhosa culture was discussed earlier in this chapter: this shows that glass beads have part of the Xhosa identity. Each colour of the glass beads carries a meaning, which is understood amongst Xhosa people. The chapter states that African Knowledge Systems should be promoted so that it can be on the same level with the Western knowledge. For a meaningful hybridization to take place, African Knowledge Systems should be on the same level with Western knowledge. The Western knowledge will dominate the IKS, if we just apply hybridization without uplifting the IKS first. A meaningful collaboration between AKS and Western culture can help South Africa to move forward as a country.

The chapter has also discussed the African Knowledge Systems, and how it has been turned into a commodity by the tourism industry. This chapter discussed how the tourism producers have staged the Zulu culture, so that it can appear as authentic to tourists. The African Knowledge Systems and Western culture have been hybridized, but the Western culture is dominating the AKS.

CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualizes Indigenous Knowledge Systems in relation to the global, South African and Township context. It starts by discussing colonialism and its impact on indigenous people around the world and in South Africa specifically. Western European colonialism was a system practiced by Europeans: it was based on exploiting indigenous people (people of colour) around the world, by taking their land and controlling their natural resources. Some of the current conditions faced by indigenous people were caused by the injustices of the past, under the policies of European colonialism and the prejudice that was intertwined in its occurrence. This chapter discusses how indigenous people in South Africa, reinvented their culture during the colonial period by incorporating glass beads with Indigenous Knowledge Systems. The chapter considers the beadwork made by Xhosa people, and decodes the meaning.

Some of the challenges faced by Indigenous people around the world have similarities: many indigenous people are still recovering from the effects of Western European colonialism and prejudice, and their culture is dominated by Western culture. For example, black people in South Africa suffered under colonialism and apartheid. Some of these indigenous, South African people have reinvented their culture by incorporating it with the Western culture. The challenges that Indigenous Knowledge face today were constructed in the past during colonialism. A lot of indigenous culture was destroyed during colonialism, some people lost much of their language and cultural practices. For instance, the black people transported to America and the Caribbean lost many of their language and cultural practices during slavery. In South Africa, there was a lot of cultural exchange between European settlers and indigenous black people, which in some cases resulted in black people adopting glass beads.

3.2 Global context

In this section, I will discuss the Indigenous Knowledge Systems, in relation to the global context. To get a better understanding of the current conditions faced by indigenous cultures, it is neces-

sary to revisit the past. Europeans created a system that made Western culture to thrive while the IKS perished. Almost everywhere around the world Western culture is dominating Indigenous Knowledge Systems, these are the consequences of colonialism. These negative effects of colonialism, also include multigenerational trauma amongst indigenous people: this can manifest in different ways which might cause violence amongst indigenous people. The following quote supports the statement made above that the European colonialism had negative effects on the indigenous people. “It has been theorized that suicide behaviour amongst indigenous peoples, worldwide, is a major outcome of the mass trauma experienced as a result of colonization” (Elias: 2012, 1560).

The indigenous people may also prefer the Western culture, and look down on IKS. For instance, some of the black Christians in South Africa do not believe in the ancestors, they call them demons. These are some of the negative effects caused by colonialism: Colonialism has had a negative impact on indigenous cultures around the world, some indigenous people were almost wiped out by Europeans. For instance, the Aboriginal people in Australia, Native Americans and Khoi and San people in South Africa. Some people state that Europeans brought civilization to Africa and other parts of the world. They view civilization through the lens of the Western culture, which is regarding the western culture as superior to indigenous knowledge. Some might argue that Europeans were not civilized because civilized people do not go around the world killing, raping, and stealing other people’s land. The so-called “civilization” came through exploitation of the black people and other indigenous people – they were used as cheap labour. During colonialism, Native Americans were also forced by the Europeans to abandon their culture, and embrace the Western culture. The quote below talks about how the Native Americans were oppressed by the Europeans in the name of civilization.

The twin goals of civilisation and Christianisation of Indians were central and mutually dependent objectives of the American missionary movement as well government. In this process, religious freedom was ignored as the missionary efforts to convert the Indian became merged with government policy aimed at settling the frontier and transforming them into Americans citizens. The goals were supported by the belief that Indian institutions and character had to be transformed to allow the “savage” to enjoy the benefits of the superior Christian civilisation. (Charlton & Brunette: 2010, 27)

The West waged war on indigenous people, and disguised it as a civilizing mission, because *they* are the “savages”. The quote above explains the strategy they used on most of the indigenous

people. The Africans were also portrayed as savages who had to be civilized and Christianized by the Europeans. The Europeans brought missionaries with them to Christianize the indigenous people. The Europeans killed numerous Native Americans, but still they considered themselves as civilized, and the Native Americans as uncivilized. The colonizers used Christianity to justify their treatment of Native Americans and other natives around the world. For instance, the aboriginal people in Australia were also labeled savages and were killed by the Europeans and they were nearly wiped out just like the Native Americans. The Native Americans were banned from participating in cultural traditions such as tribal dances, because they were pagan (non-Christian).

The following statement talks about intergenerational trauma, which is linked to indigenous genocide and ethnic cleansing. According to Elias, historical trauma theories liken the impact of indigenous genocide, ethnic cleansing, and forced government acculturation policies to that of the intergenerational trauma experienced by holocaust survivors and their families (Elias: 2012, 1560).

This part of the chapter discusses glass beads in relation to the global context. Glass beads were introduced by Europeans to some of the indigenous people around the world. Glass beads became popular amongst the indigenous people, absorbing beadwork into their culture. Before the arrival of glass beads in North America, the Native Americans used to make beads from bone, shell, stone, and teeth. In the 1400s, Christopher Columbus brought glass beads to the Native Americans as gifts. The Native Americans took glass beads and constructed a new meaning for them which enhanced their identity. The following quote talks about how the Native Americans took glass beads and used them to enhance their culture. According to Kletchka and Friday, when the baby is born in the Dakota people (Native American) a beaded object is created to celebrate the birth of the baby (Kletchka & Friday: 2000, 30). The mother of the baby or the aunt creates a beaded object called umbilical charm to protect the umbilical cord of the baby from harm. The umbilical charm is placed around the baby's neck. It is shaped like lizards and turtles and it embodies the behavioural and physical characteristics of each animal. There are similarities between the Dakota people (Native Americans) and the black people of South Africa. Both have managed to revive their culture by creating hybrids, attributing new meaning to such hybrids. It seems that indigenous people (black South Africans and Native Americans) use hybridization to reinvent their culture to prevent it from dying.

The Nazareth Baptist Church is another example of hybridization, showing that indigenous people (black South Africans) hybridize to reinvent their culture, to keep it from dying. The Nazareth Baptist Church (popularly known as Kwa Shembe), which combines the African Knowledge Systems

with Christianity, embraces the Xhosa Spiritual belief in ancestors. Members of this church can wear their traditional attire. For instance, Zulu men can wear *isibheshu* (animal skin), and Xhosa people are also allowed to wear their traditional attire. The Kiowa people (Native Americans) intertwined their traditional beliefs with Christianity: they have a church named the Native American Church. In this church, the Native Americans can carry traditional objects such as the peyote fan. Kletchka and Friday state that the peyote fan is a traditional object, which consists of 12 eagle feathers and beaded leather thongs (Kletchka & Friday: 2000, 32). Kiowa people carry the peyote fan to their church. They believe that peyote fans help carry prayers to God. These practices of both the Nazareth Baptist Church (Kwa Shembe) and the Native American Church demonstrate that indigenous people do incorporate their traditional beliefs into the Western cultural tenets that they must live with. As such, they preserve the traditional cultural meaning associated with a variety of religious practices.

Glass beads continue to reach indigenous people around the world in current times. There is a glass bead factory, the Preciosa Ornela, in the Czech Republic that produces high-end glass beads and sells them around the world. The Preciosa Ornela company supplies the Zulu, Xhosa, and Maasai nations of Africa with glass beads. The market for these beads spans the world. Indigenous people around the world differ in culture, but they have something in common, which is their love for glass beads. They use beadwork to communicate with their fellow tribesmen and an outsider may not understand what the beadwork symbolizes. Glass beads are similar to an empty canvas, because each culture uses them to construct new and unique meaning. All the glass beads leave the factory in the Czech Republic meaning the same, but when they reach the Xhosa people or Native Americans their meaning changes to adapt to the respective cultures where they will serve ritual or ceremony. For example, in India glass beads are used in Hindu ceremonial garb, but also in everyday products like the mangalsutra necklaces worn to show that a woman is married. The various ways in which different cultures use glass beads show that there is no pure culture, they are entangled with one another. Layman states that the marketing director for the Preciosa Ornela company spotted the Kayapo tribe on the cover of National Geographic magazine wearing glass beads that were produced by their company (Layman: 2016, 1). According to Layman, the Kayapo tribe lives far up the Amazon under conditions more resembling the Stone Age rather than the information age, but they could still find meaning for Twenty-first Century glass beads (Layman: 2016, 1). Members of the Kayapo tribe appear on the cover and inside of a glossy, Twenty First Century magazine, all of them adorned with Stone Age face paint and a glittering assortment of beads.

3.3 South African context

Indigenous people around the world are still suffering from the effects of colonialism, because they have passed their trauma on to future generations. This phenomenon also marks the South African context in which many black people especially in the townships are violent towards other black people. Black people in South Africa suffered under colonialism and then under apartheid. They have been free since 1994 – at the time of writing, for 26 years. It is possible that black South Africans are suffering from multigenerational trauma. It is believed that the trauma manifests as domestic violent behaviour, alcohol abuse, and violent crime. The crime and murder rates are high in the townships compared to the suburbs. The bad conditions in the townships are caused by poverty and unemployment. It is said that townships were created by the apartheid government, and that they were created on the outskirts of towns. The people living in these townships were used as cheap labour.

It is said that, when glass beads were first introduced to the black South African communities in larger quantities, they were regarded as luxuries and their distribution were controlled within the Zulu Kingdom during the Shaka Zulu era. In the Eastern Cape region, glass beads were used as currency among amaMpondo (IsiXhosa speakers) until the collapse of their value in 1831 (Nettleton. 2014: 345). The statement above states the importance of glass beads in the South African (Zulu and Xhosa) communities during the 1800s, and not every member of the community had access to glass beads, because they were very expensive and controlled by the kings. During the 1900s, glass beads were mostly spread amongst the African communities and formally became part of the Xhosa and Zulu traditions and cultures, because people could afford them. The South African men (Xhosa and Zulu) were in the cities working in the mines, and they would buy glass beads and send them back home to the rural areas so that the women could make beadwork from them. Glass beads were also available in the rural areas at the trading stores. Migrant workers used to return home (rural areas) from the cities, with things like glass beads, clothing items bought from the stores, and these items were later turned into traditional clothing. The women in the rural areas would make beadwork for their husbands, sons, and themselves. According to Nettleton, the migrant workers left the city and returned home to the places where women's labour produced and maintained 'tradition', in the speaking of language (mother-tongue), raising of children, and the production of food (Nettleton: 2014, 357).

The following quote supports the statements mentioned above, namely that women also played a

huge role in incorporating glass beads into the Xhosa and Zulu cultures, because they remained in the rural areas making beadwork for their men, while the men were working in the cities. “Beads were strung and sewn by women, not only for themselves, but also, importantly, for men who were absent from the homestead for long periods” (Nettleton: 2014, 348).

Black women in the rural areas took items that were from Western culture and combined them with the African culture to form hybridities. Nettleton (2014: 357) explains this phenomenon as follows:

In other cases the mix was more directly visible as where isiZulu-speaking women, the makers of beaded jackets and waistcoats, used (or copied) store-bought western dress items as the base for the application of beaded strips and panels. Such waistcoats and jackets were largely worn in the contexts of the rural home, in combination with other western dress items such as the jodhpurs worn by an Induna in a photograph taken by Katesa Schlosser.

It is therefore possible to say that the black African women in the rural areas played a huge role in the formation of new African traditions. The black men in South Africa were forced by their oppressors to work in the mines. The black women had to be at home in the rural areas to look after the children. The black women took all the items that were brought by the black men from cities and assimilated them into traditional South African culture.

In the 1800s, when beadwork became popular amongst the Xhosa people, and formed part of the Xhosa culture, they were rejected by the Western culture, even though they were brought by the Europeans to South Africa. Nettleton supports my statement that the Western culture rejected beadwork. According to Nettleton, during the 1800s wearing beadwork and traditional forms of dress were only limited to the rural areas, because the social rules that governed dress in colonial towns in South Africa required ‘proper’ attire (Nettleton: 2014, 348). The author elaborated that people entering town had to wear clothing that covered the body from shoulder to knee (Nettleton: 2014, 348). The banning of beadwork and traditional forms of dress in towns led to the government prescribing uniforms for those who worked as domestic servants (Nettleton: 2014, 348). Beadwork started losing value because of these rules and the Xhosa Christians started wearing suits and ties. Beadwork was considered primitive by the urban South African societies. According to Nettleton, beadwork and traditional attires were also forms of resistance to the ‘primitive’ paradigm, to the missionary need to make converts conform. Ironically, they enabled the creation of

modern forms of indigeneity (Nettleton: 2014, 356). In the nineteenth century, glass beads became part of the Xhosa tradition. Some of the black people who were modernized rejected the African traditions. They chose to wear Western clothes. In the Xhosa community, black people who chose to wear their traditional Xhosa clothes and practiced their Xhosa culture were labeled as uncivilized.

More black nations in South Africa use beadwork as a way of dressing and communicating with one another within communities. Glass beads are also popular amongst the Zulu people, and one needs to be familiar with the Zulu spiritual concepts to understand the meaning behind their beadwork. The Zulu beadwork styles differ according to regions. The Mchunu people from the Msinga region in KwaZulu Natal have their own style of beadwork, named *Isishunka*. According to Van Wyk, it is restricted to a seven colour palette. This palette is applied to all beadwork items, not just to love tokens (Van Wyk: 2003, 28). The following paragraph goes into detail and explains the meaning of the colours in the *Isishunka* seven colour palette.

In the Mchunu style of beadwork, white means all that is good (love, spiritual purity, happiness, truth) while black is the opposite (evil, misfortune, sorrow) but could also refer to the black skirt of marriage. The translucent red symbolizes hot blooded passion and Vaseline³ yellow stands for gossip; pink means poverty. According to Van Wyk, turquoise represents fidelity; deep green represents youthfulness or pining away like a withering reed. Green is the dominant colour in the palette, followed by black. When combined, the two colours suggest readiness for marriage, and in this context green means new growth, young life, while black stands for the black leather skirt of marriage (Van Wyk: 2003, 28).

The Xhosa nation consists of many different groups each preferring different beadwork styles and colours. According to Costello, the Thembu people prefer deep turquoise blue plus a little red together with white and navy as a contrast, excepting for persons of mature years who use predominantly navy and white with pink as a supplementary colour. The Mfengu people favour pink, blue, and white with a deeper blue and pink combination being popular for wide collars (Costello: 1990, 17). The Mpondo people usually use blue in their beadwork and contrasts blue with white, orange, and black. The Gcaleka prefers a bright turquoise blue contrasted with red navy and white. The Xhosa beadwork style is like the Zulu beadwork style in the sense that it also differs from one region and group to the next within the Xhosa nation. For example, the beadwork styles of the

³ Vaseline: a brand name for petroleum jelly.

Mchunu people from Msinga differs from the Nongoma region beadwork.

The symbolic meaning of the sap-green colour in the beadwork of (Zulu) Nongoma is associated with the food of cattle, which were at the core of Zulu traditional life, and it represented a physical link with their ancestors (Van Wyk: 2003, 31). According to Van Wyk, red beads were associated with Xhosa royalty during earlier times and were offered when the elephant was killed (2003, 22). The Thembu people (a group that is associated with the Xhosa nation) believe that yellow symbolizes fertility while green symbolizes new life. In the Thembu community beadwork is not only about beauty, but it is intertwined with spirituality. When the Thembu child is introduced to the ancestors, the mother applies a red ochre on the child's body and makes a necklace made of white beads for the child.

3.4 Township context

This part of the chapter discusses beadwork in relation to the urban township context. According to the Oxford dictionary, a township is a suburb mostly occupied by people, formerly officially designated for black occupation by the Apartheid government. I will also bring in some of the statements made by Mzwanele Mgingqi, a beadwork artist from Kayamandi. As part of the research, I conducted an interview with Mgingqi in Kayamandi based on Xhosa beadwork. Mgingqi spoke about the challenges he faces as a bead worker based in the township. Some of the Xhosa people in Kayamandi do not fully understand the meaning of colours in the Xhosa beadwork. They ask Mgingqi to make Xhosa beadwork for them, and they also want him to incorporate colours which are not part of the Xhosa culture. He stated that as a Xhosa person you cannot just wear beadwork, because beadwork in the Xhosa culture is also entangled with spirituality. The statements he made during the interview support my argument with regards to the township context: he talks about the lack of understanding of beadwork in the township. The black people in the townships are more modernized compared to black people in the rural areas, while the people in the rural areas are more knowledgeable in traditional cultures. The art of beadwork making in the townships is not understood by many people, because it is not considered very important. However, there are elders and young people in the townships who are knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork. These people are originally from the rural areas in the Eastern Cape, and they embrace the Xhosa culture. I will present other statements made by Mgingqi during the interview, to further support my argument. Mgingqi states that some of the Xhosa people in Kayamandi (a township outside the town of Stellenbosch, which is mostly occupied by Xhosa speaking people) do not fully understand Xhosa beadwork. They approach him asking to do beadwork for them that are made

from colours that do not fall under Xhosa colours. He says some of the Xhosa people in Kayamandi see people wearing certain beadwork and want them because it looks fashionable. For example, he has seen some of the Xhosa people in Kayamandi wearing *umqhele* (a crown made of animal skin, worn by Zulu men). He says a Xhosa man is not supposed to wear *umqhele*, but should rather wear *inquma* (a crown made of monkey skin). But in general Xhosa men wear beadwork as a crown.

They are usually the ones who make beadwork or translate the meaning behind beadwork. In the Xhosa culture, you cannot wear only white glass beads just for the sake of beauty, unless you are a traditional healer or you wear them for cultural purposes. For example, if you have a calling (by the ancestors), and you do not want to accept it, the white beadwork might harm you, and your body might develop ailments. Mgingqi states that, before he makes beadwork for someone: he asks the clan name of that person so that he can know which colours to use. For example, some of the groups under Xhosa nation have their colours.

Some of the people in the townships wear beadwork for the sake of beauty and it is easily accessible. People can buy beadwork at cultural centres and as such some beadwork does not have a symbolic cultural meaning behind it. For example, you can buy beadwork in Cape Town at one of the tourist stores. The glass beads are now fashionable in the townships, some of the locals wear them with pride. In Khayelitsha, during the 1990s glass beads were mostly only worn by amagqirha (traditional healers) and cultural leaders, beadwork was not popular amongst the youth unless you wore them for traditional purposes. In contemporary times beadwork is worn for special events like traditional weddings, heritage day and other events. In these cases people do not wear Xhosa beadwork only, but also beadwork that belongs to other tribes. The traditional beadwork that belongs to other black people, becomes a hybrid because it is worn by the Xhosa people for the sake of beauty. This demonstrates that cultures influence each other: the Xhosa people also adopted the glass beads from the Europeans, and gave them a new meaning. The following statements are taken from an interview I conducted with Yolanda Ngqavu, a Xhosa traditional healer from Khayelitsha. According to Ngqavu, it is possible that a Xhosa person with a calling can be initiated through other cultures like Swati or Zulu: the novice is guarded by her ancestors. The ancestors come to the novice, in the form of dreams and point out where the novice should go: the teacher on the other side is already informed by ancestors that the novice is coming. Ngqavu was not initiated through the Xhosa culture, but it was through *isindawa*: which is another spirit belonging to other African people. According to Mamani, groups like Amamfengu (refugees who fled from Shaka) also brought their own culture when they came to Eastern Cape from KwaZulu natal. For exam-

ple, snuff. The views expressed by Ngqavu show that the Xhosa culture is not pure, it is entangled with other cultures, which makes it a hybrid just like other cultures. Mamani stated that things have slightly changed in the Xhosa traditional healing culture, because Xhosa traditional healers used *isixhaxha* or *itshu*⁴, instead of snuff. Modern Xhosa traditional healers drink western alcohol during ceremonies. For instance, they drink brandy, cider drinks, beer, and other alcoholic drinks. Before colonization, the traditional drink they used was *umqombothi* (African beer) which is brewed in the house. In the townships, a high rate of unemployment prevails, some community centres provide community members with jobs. They are taught how to make beadwork and other craft objects with their hands. These community centres sell beadwork to tourists and other people who are interested in them. They do not only make traditional beadwork, they also make contemporary beadwork.

3.5 Synthesis

In this chapter, I have contextualized the Indigenous Knowledge System in relation to the global context, South African context, and the township context. I have discussed how colonialism affected the indigenous people around the world. The Native Americans and black South Africans were stripped of their culture by Europeans. The chapter has also discussed how indigenous culture was considered primitive by Europeans. They believed it their duty to Christianize indigenous people so that they could become 'civilized'. In contemporary South Africa, African Knowledge Systems are not promoted enough by the government as it is still dominated by the Western culture. Glass beads are also popular amongst Native Americans, they have intertwined their culture with beadwork. Indigenous people (Native Americans and black South Africans) have managed to reinvent their cultures by using hybridization as a way to keep their cultures alive. Glass beads are popular around the world. This demonstrates that culture is intertwined with other cultures, because people use glass beads for different reasons, like religion, spirituality, and to create awareness of cultural diversity.

In South Africa, glass beads have become part of the African identity and the Xhosa people have attached beadwork to spirituality. In the Xhosa culture, Amagqirha (traditional healers) wear white beadwork as part of their attire. The chapter has also discussed how glass beads were introduced to black South Africans by Europeans.

⁴ Isixhaxha and Itshu are ancient Xhosa traditional tobacco

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology was discussed in relation to the research question, which asked how beadwork can contribute to the promotion of African Indigenous Knowledge in a South African context. An interpretative method was used to investigate traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork in the contemporary times. This chapter has in turn used theories by relevant authors to further explain the meaning of certain research approaches and will explain how data was sampled, collected, and captured. This chapter mentioned the importance of credibility and ethical clearance when collecting data which is about presenting consent forms to participants, before they participate in the interview.

4.2 Research approach

It is said that an interpretative approach provides a detailed insight into the complex world of lived experience (Andrade: 2009, 43). Interpretive research states that reality is socially constructed, and the researcher reveals it. Interpretative research has been used to investigate traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork. It is very important to observe the people, when collecting data, because you want to develop a theory, not test it. The information that I collected from the interviews was used to develop a theory about Xhosa beadwork, traditional clothes, values, and spirituality.

4.3 Research design

4.3.1 Case study research

This research was conducted in relation to the following statements by Alan Bryman. It is said that case study research consists of a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. Case study research deals with complexity of a certain case. Case studies can also focus on a single person, an organization, an event or a group.

In this study, I focused on individuals who were knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork and Xhosa

traditional attires. Two of the participants were Xhosa traditional healers who explained in detail how Xhosa beadwork links with Xhosa Spirituality. The other two participants were well informed about Xhosa beadwork, attire, and values, and they also explained the meaning behind the Xhosa colours. The final participant was a young cultural activist who was passionate about the Xhosa culture and was also involved in community projects. These individuals stayed in Khayelitsha and Kayamandi, two townships in the Western Cape, South Africa. As the research interviews developed, the participants gradually spoke more than me, which indicated that they were comfortable and that they trusted me. The aim of the study was to investigate traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they were being used in Xhosa beadwork. A case study is suitable because I can collect in-depth information from the interviewees (Creswell 2003).

4.3.2 Sample selection and data collection

Six participants who were knowledgeable in Xhosa beadwork and Xhosa traditional attires contributed the data for this qualitative study. The participants resided in the townships of Khayelitsha and Kayamandi. The sample size of the interviewees was based on availability. I did not select more than six participants, because we were facing the Covid-19 pandemic in South Africa. As a researcher, I had to be cautious and at the same time get as many participants as I could. Involving more than six people would have put all of us at a risk of getting the coronavirus.

I met one of the participants two years ago in a taxi. He was wearing Xhosa beadwork, and I told him I was doing a Master's degree at Stellenbosch University and my theme was about Xhosa beadwork. He took out his phone and showed me photos of Xhosa beadwork. He stated that he was a beadwork artist and was working with other beadwork artists. I asked for his cellphone number so that we would be able to continue the conversation on the phone.

Last year I visited him in Kayamandi for the first time. He spoke freely and he did not hold back because we were already used to each other from having communicated before over the phone. The first visit was just to formally introduce myself. I did not even bring a voice recorder, because I felt that it would be inappropriate. I went into the details concerning my research idea and theme, which entailed investigating traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour in Xhosa beadwork. There was an elderly woman in the house, who was also knowledgeable about the Xhosa culture. The elderly woman spoke briefly about the Xhosa beadwork, attire, and their meaning. She was not comfortable as it was our first meeting. I focused more on the man, because we knew each other. We spent hours just talking about Xhosa culture in general and how we

needed more black academics writing about it. After the first meeting, we kept in touch through the phone. I told him I will visit him again to do a formal interview. I sent him a text message to arrange an interview and I went to Kayamandi to interview participant (1) in his house (I will refer to him as participant 1).

I also reached out to other participants (2 & 3) who were knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork and African Spirituality. These two women participants lived in Khayelitsha, which was near my home. I personally knew these participants, it is a mother and daughter, and they are both traditional healers. I did not have their cell phone numbers and they also did not have an email address. I went to their house to set up an appointment. I returned to their house the following week to interview them. I knew that I could trust their information because they used it to help people who need help spiritually. The mother told me about the Xhosa beadwork and their connection with spirituality and told me about her experience as a young traditional healer. Other potential interviewees were recommended by some of the people with whom I was consulting. I explained what was written in the forms, and told the interviewees that they had the right to refrain from participating in the study. I was interviewing the interviewees in Xhosa, because it is their mother tongue and I wanted them to express themselves freely. The other reason I wanted the interviews to be done in Xhosa is because sometimes when you translate Xhosa words or concepts into English, they lose their meaning. I tried my best to conduct the interviews in a respectful way, because sometimes you may come across as disrespectful when you are not fully informed about certain topics. The other participant (4) was a Xhosa woman from Kayamandi. I met her through participant (1) and she makes Xhosa traditional clothes. She told me about the meaning of Xhosa traditional clothes, and what they represent.

My other participant (5) was a young cultural activist from Kayamandi. He co-founded a Xhosa cultural group which was a group of young people that promoted Xhosa dances and values. I met the participant two years ago when I was working as an assistant curator at a gallery. The gallery used to collaborate with artists from Kayamandi and other townships. The artists were a voice for Kayamandi and other townships. We got used to each other and he used to come to me for advice on how to register their group as a closed corporation. I chose to interview him for my research because I knew he was passionate about the Xhosa culture. I would have to begin from nothing to get to know him. We used to talk about the importance of the Xhosa culture and how it was necessary to promote it. I told the participant that I wanted to interview him for my research about Xhosa beadwork and attires.

I used person-to-person interviews to collect data but I had to interview participant (5) over the phone because he was in the Eastern Cape, while I live and study in the Western Cape. I told the participant about the consent form and that he had the right to decline the interview. I sent him the consent form over the phone, so that he could read it. He agreed to participate.

The last participant (6) was a Xhosa traditional healer that was based in Khayelitsha. I met her through my older brother. My brother recommended that I should interview her for my research about beadwork, because she was knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork. I organized an appointment with the Xhosa traditional healer so that we could meet in person and I could tell her about my research. My brother took me to her house, and we spoke about the importance of Xhosa beadwork. She stated that beadwork was very important in the Xhosa culture, because it was part of your identity as a Xhosa person. I did not record participant (6) because it was not an interview. We were just speaking casually. I returned to interview her the following week, because she was available and was ready for the interview. She was a bit nervous and asked if I was going to record her. But once she started talking about Xhosa beadwork, she kept going and I could see that she was very passionate about beadwork. She told me about the connection between beadwork and Xhosa Spirituality, which is crucial to this study. I could also pick up some of the similarities between her statements and those given by other participants.

Questions that were presented to the participants 2,3 & 6 (Xhosa traditional healers)

1. How does one know that they have a calling into *ubugqirha* (Xhosa traditional healer)?
2. What are the stages of *ubugqirha* (Xhosa traditional healer)?
3. What are the names of these stages?
4. What are the colours (beadwork) worn by a novice traditional healer?
5. Do the ancestors tell the initiate which colours to wear?
6. Do male initiates also wear *mhlehlo/ithumbu* (beadwork)?
7. What do these colours (*mhlehlo/ithumbu* beadwork) mean?
8. Why does *isidanga* (beadwork similar to a graduation cap, which is worn by a traditional healer who has completed all the initiation stages) have only one colour which is blue?
9. Why is the colour white the most dominant colour worn by Xhosa traditional healers?
10. How do we equip schools to be able to deal with learners that practice traditional healing?
11. Can a late relative who had refused the calling pass the calling on to the family members?
12. If you have two late uncles, can the family do a traditional ceremony for the younger brother only?
13. What happens to the beadwork when the Xhosa traditional healer passes away?

14. Can you avoid the calling and then align with Christianity?
15. What is the difference between *Igqirha* (Xhosa traditional healer) and *Ixhwele* (witch doctor)?
16. Who makes beadwork for traditional healers?
17. What are the challenges faced by young Xhosa traditional healers?
18. Is it acceptable for a white person to become a Xhosa traditional healer?

Questions that were presented to participants 1 & 5

1. Is there a difference between the glass beads used today and the glass beads used in the past?
2. What are plastic beads used for?
3. Do Xhosa glass beads differ in size?
4. Where do you buy glass beads?
5. Can you tell me about different styles of Xhosa beadwork and their meaning?
6. Can you tell me more about *itankisi* (beads that were used by Xhosa people before glass beads)?
7. What are the cultural colours used by the Xhosa nation?
8. How can Xhosa beadwork be promoted in the school curriculum?
9. How does hybridization affect Xhosa culture?

4.4 Capturing data and ethical clearance

Semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data, because I had a list of core questions for the interviewees, and some of the questions depended on the answers given by the participant. As a researcher, before I started the interview I provided all the participants in this study with consent forms and informed them that they have a right to discontinue the interview if they feel uncomfortable. Participants were also told that their names would be kept confidential and that codes would be used to protect the identities of the participants. I also explained in Xhosa, what was written on the consent form to those who could not properly understand some of the information written on the form.

Before I started the interview, I asked for permission to record the participants with a voice recorder, in order to capture the data accurately. The interviews took place in their houses (in Khayelitsha and Kayamandi) and I also wrote down notes while the participants were talking. The data was stored in my laptop and an external hard drive, and they are both locked in my room. I am the only one who has access to the information, and they are kept safe in my room. The participants were told they could listen to their recordings, just in case they wanted to retract something.

4.5 Validity and Trustworthiness

This research aimed to be credible, because the data about traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork has been collected from Xhosa activists and Xhosa traditional healers. These participants are well informed about Xhosa culture and they use their knowledge to help the Xhosa people. For example, two of the participants are traditional healers and they use spirituality and Xhosa medicine to help the people. I also did further research about my topic, Xhosa beadwork and attire, and used the knowledge provided by the authors Nettleton and Van Wyk to prove that the data collected is credible. As a Xhosa speaking researcher, I decided to translate and transcribe the recordings of the interviews because the interviews were conducted in Xhosa. I also got an opportunity to gain more understanding of the Xhosa culture.

4.6 Synthesis

This chapter has discussed the following: research approach, research design, sample, data collection, data capturing, ethical considerations, data analysis and validity. The participants who contributed to the research, were asked for permission to interview them. The interviews took place in their houses, so that they could be comfortable. The questions were arranged according to their specialities: some of them are traditional healers and were also knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork. Other participants were not traditional healers, but were informed about Xhosa beadwork. I could not ask them questions about Xhosa spirituality and their connection to Xhosa beadwork.

CHAPTER 5: DATA AND DISCUSSIONS

5.1 Introduction

The data collected from the participants during the research is further discussed in this chapter to explore and reveal the entanglement between the Xhosa culture and Western culture. This chapter links the findings collected from the research mentioned in Chapter 2, to show a connection.

The main research question, which I attempt to address in this chapter, reads as follows:

- How can beadwork contribute to the promotion of African Indigenous Knowledge in a South African context?

The sub-questions are:

- How and to what extent did hybridization contribute to Xhosa beadwork?
- How can African Indigenous Knowledge through beadwork be promoted in the school curriculum?

5.2 How and to what extent did hybridization contribute to Xhosa beadwork.

This part of the chapter discusses the contribution of hybridization to Xhosa beadwork. It begins with Xhosa Spirituality and how it is entangled with Xhosa beadwork. In Chapter 2, it is stated that hybridization consists of turning a single entity into two or many parts, turning sameness into difference (Young: 1995, 24). Hybridization has entered every sphere of the Xhosa culture, including the Xhosa Spirituality which is known as ubugqirha. During the interviews for the research, Xhosa traditional healers stated that Xhosa Spirituality encourages pureness and righteousness.

I will use the following quote by Costello to support my argument that glass beads are not originally from the Xhosa culture, but that they have become part of the Xhosa culture. According to Costello, traditional beadwork is a primary means of artistic expression among Xhosa-speaking

peoples and although glass beads did not originally feature in their material culture, they were very quickly assimilated and a cultural tradition, which played an important role in all aspects of their society, was built around beads (Costello: 1990, 35). The current glass beads used in the Xhosa culture constitute a form of hybridization, because they were brought by the Europeans to the Xhosa people. In the Xhosa Spirituality glass beads are given a new meaning: beadwork is used as a way of communicating with the ancestors. According to participants (2 & 6) who are traditional healers, the colour of their beadwork were recommended by their ancestors. In the spiritual world of the Xhosa, beadwork is very important – you cannot be a Xhosa traditional healer and not have beadwork. The following statements by these participants (2 & 6) who are Xhosa traditional healers, describe the process of becoming a Xhosa traditional healer.

5.3 Xhosa beadwork and spirituality

Participant 2 stated.

Before you get initiated into ebugqirheni (Xhosa traditional healing world), you dream of a traditional healer that will guide you through your initiation. You wear two lines of white beadwork on your wrists, neck, and legs. The next step, they do a traditional ceremony called imvuma kufa(to accept the calling). During the imvuma kufa ceremony, a goat is slaughtered for the initiate, then more beadwork is added on the initiate. These beadwork that are added on the initiate are blue in colour, and they are added onto the white beadwork. Isinga will be taken from the goat that is slaughtered, and it will be combined with ubulunga(skin of an oxtail), to make isiyaca (necklace combined with beads). They make isiyaca for the initiate, because he/she has accepted imvuma kufa (the accepting calling). The following stage, the initiate will have a dream for ukugqabaza. During the imvuma kufa (to accept the calling) ceremony the initiate was given a spear. When the initiate has a dream about the second stage, which is ukugqabaza: they slaughter a second goat for the initiate, and they also give him/her a sjambok covered with beadwork. During the imvuma kufa (accepting the call) ceremony, the initiate had to kneel as a way of showing that he/she accepting the calling. By giving the initiate the sjambok covered with beadwork, its a way of making the initiate to stand, because he/she is almost a qualified traditional healer. The initiate will have dreams about ugoduswa, which is the last stage of the initiation to be become a Xhosa traditional healer. The stage of ukugodusa, the initiate goes to camp near the river, and they will slaughter a goat, and they eat it there.

The trainee will have dreams about the wild, he/she will go there with a goat, but the goat is only there to protect the trainee. The trainee will not slaughter the goat in the wild: he/she will slaughter the goat when he/she returns home, and the goat is used a way to prepare for the slaughter of the cow. On Saturday the trainee will be introduced at his/her home: he/she will wear a beadwork called ithumbu and the beadwork spreads on the chest. Other people call it umhlelo, and the beadwork can be worn by male and female. The initiate start wearing white and blue beadwork, and you dream about these colours, they given by the ancestors. They wear a beadwork called isiyambane, some call ingcina sifuna, this means that a traditional healer has to keep the secrets of the traditional healing world. On top of the isiyambane beadwork, they put another beadwork called vula kabini.

There is also another necklace beadwork consisting of many strings and it is called isidanga, Xhosa traditional healer wear isidanga means that he/she has passed all the initiation stages. The colour of isidanga all blue, the colour reflects the sky and it also means power. There is also another beadwork called isibamba ngqondo, it is meant to keep the mind of a traditional healer stable. Ontop of isibamba ngqondo beadwork, the trainee wears a beadwork called ithemba, some call it umva ndaba, because you need to have this beadwork in order to help the people spiritual. There is also another beadwork worn on the arms and legs called iziphanga. There is also a belt called umthika: this belt is made out of an animal, and it means that the trainee has completed all the initiation stages. You cannot wear umthika without going to the wild as part of the initiation. This shows that the trainee went to the wild as part of the initiation process, and returned home without being harmed by the wild animals. There is also another belt called umbhingqo. There is also another animal skin worn on the head by Xhosa traditional healers called isidlokolo, some are made of cheater skin, it depends on the animal chosen by the ancestor for the traditional healer.

Participant (6) stated on the issue of spirituality and Xhosa beadwork.

In the Xhosa culture beadwork is very important, when a child is introduced to the ancestors they make a necklace that consists of white beadwork and four knots between the beads. The name of the ceremony performed for the child is called imbeleko, which helps the child to connect with the ancestors. When a person has a calling, the people in the family make a white beadwork for that person. The white beadwork represents the ancestors, and the powder blue beadwork represents the ancestors that reside in the river. When the initiate comes back from the river, they wear the powder blue beadwork. In the following stage the

initiate wears another beadwork that is associated with the river, the colour of the beadwork is navy. The initiate has to also wear a red beadwork that represents those ancestors who died in an accident who had their blood spill.

Participant (2) added on the issue of spirituality and Xhosa beadwork.

For example, there was a Xhosa initiate who was sent to a village in Swaziland by her ancestors to do the traditional healing initiation. The Xhosa initiate said that she will go to that village and use the directions she was told in her dreams by the ancestors. When she got to that village, the Swati traditional healer was already waiting for her, because she was also informed in her dreams by Xhosa initiates ancestor. Initiation stages in ukuthwasa (Xhosa Spirituality) the first stage is called ukubotshwa amalungu, or nomgqana, the second stage is called uno bhokhwe, it is for imvuma kufa, the third stage is called five to or nomgqabazo, the last one is called uyagoduswa.

Participant (1) spoke about the beadwork colours that are used by Xhosa traditional healers.

A powder blue beadwork is known as uhobe in Xhosa, the navy beadwork is known as nyembe, and the white beadwork is called mhlophe. These beadwork colours are used by Xhosa people...the red beadwork are mostly used by the Zulu people. But Xhosa people also use the red beadwork...but its popular amongst the Xhosa traditional healers. The red beadwork represents danger...like accidents or blood spilling. The red beadwork is to protect a Xhosa traditional healer against accidents. Isiqweqwe (beadwork worn on the head) with white and powder blue colours is worn by a traditional healer who has come from the river as part of the Xhosa traditional healer initiation.

Participant (2) also added on the issue of Xhosa Spirituality and hybridity.

There are loads of white traditional healers who got initiated through the Xhosa traditional healing spirituality. In the Xhosa culture when dream about a white person they used to it the bad spirit. But white person represents an ancestor that is from the water. If you dream about a white person, you must know that they represent luck. That is the reason why witch doctors use albino people for sacrifice, because they have a similar colour with white people. We used to attend their ceremonies (Xhosa traditional healers ceremony) in the suburbs in summer greens. White people become good in traditional healing, because they love be-

ing in the water. For example, they loving swimming and in their houses they like having swimming pools. If you dream about police, or soldiers they represent your ancestors, and they have been sent to protect you. When you also dream about a dog, it also represents the ancestors protecting you, the reason why the dog represents the ancestors is because a dog is a protector of the home. But a black dog represents bad spirits.

The statements made by these participants (2 & 6) prove that the spiritual realm of the Xhosa culture has been hybridized. Western culture has managed to attach itself to the Xhosa Spirituality: white traditional healers have also become part of the Xhosa Spirituality and they have brought their Western culture. Xhosa Spirituality is respected amongst the Xhosa people, especially amongst the Xhosa traditional healers. Traditional healers are chosen by the ancestors to heal the people and to be messengers between the people and the spiritual world. Xhosa Spirituality is associated with the ancestors, and they are the guardians of the Xhosa people. According to one of the traditional healers (participant 2) that was interviewed, the ancestors inform the family members through dreams, and they also protect them. Xhosa Spirituality existed before the arrival of Christianity in the Xhosa nation. Xhosa people were guarded through spirituality. Xhosa people involve the ancestors in almost every traditional ceremony. Sometimes it is the ancestors who inform the family members to perform a traditional ceremony. Traditional healers are respected in the culture, they link the people with the ancestors. Dress code is very important, because it also identifies your position in the ceremony and it shows that you respect the ceremony. If things are not done properly during the traditional ceremony, the ancestors will reject that ceremony. According to participant (6), the ancestors can also choose a person that will lead in the family during the slaughtering of an animal that is offered to the ancestors:

There is also another beadwork worn by intlabi (a person chosen by the family to lead when the family is slaughtering an animal for a traditional ceremony) called isidanga. This beadwork is meant to differentiate intlabi from the rest of the family members (Participant 6).

The quote above shows that traditional ceremonies are respected amongst the people who practice Xhosa Spirituality. An animal offered to the ancestors cannot just be slaughtered by anyone in the family. Selected people do that and they are called *intlabi*. There is also beadwork worn by *intlabi* to show respect to the traditional ceremony, and that beadwork plays a huge role in helping the *intlabi* to focus on the ceremony.

White people have also managed to connect with the Xhosa Spirituality, which is considered pure and righteous by Xhosa people. Participant (2), who is a Xhosa traditional healer has stated that Xhosa Spirituality is associated with purity, and the ancestors can punish an individual who refuses to follow their instructions. To further prove that Xhosa Spirituality is associated with pureness and righteousness, participant (2) has also stated that a Xhosa traditional healer is not allowed to use his/her powers to harm other people, and a traditional healer is required to abstain from intercourse at times. The white beadwork dominates in the Xhosa Spirituality and it is considered to signify pureness and enlightenment, while black beadwork is hardly used. The white colour is associated with positive energy, while the black is associated with negative energy. For example, in the Xhosa culture, a traditional healer is also known as *“umntu omhlophe”* which means a white person.

Telling from the statements given by the Xhosa traditional healers, there is a link between whiteness and Xhosa Spirituality: white people are symbols of something good. It is possible that the Xhosa Spirituality has also been affected by the negative effects of colonization, because in Western culture whiteness is also interpreted as pure and positive, while blackness is interpreted as something negative. For example, participant (2) stated “If you dream about a white person, you must know that they represent luck”, and “a black dog represents bad spirits”. The emphasis on whiteness being associated with good and black with negative could also be interpreted as black people unconsciously internalizing the discrimination they faced under colonialism and Apartheid. According to participant (2), when white people become traditional healers, they become very powerful. The body parts of black people with the albino condition are used by witchdoctors because their white skin is also associated with luck. Participant (2) also stated that dreams about the police or soldiers represent the ancestors coming to protect that person. The participant (2) is talking about modern soldiers: the ones that wear military camouflage. ‘Police and modern soldiers’ are white institutions, they never existed in the Xhosa culture until the arrival of the Europeans.

The above proves that the Xhosa Spirituality has been hybridized, because it uses the modern-day concepts from a Western paradigm to decipher dreams. Participant (2) has also mentioned that modern Xhosa traditional healers use Western alcohol for traditional healer ceremonies. The Xhosa Spirituality is not stagnant. It has also evolved to reflect how the Xhosa people live in the current times, as it reflects how it accommodates the Western culture. For example, in the Xhosa culture, the older people used to say that when one dreams of a white person, the dream symbolizes a bad spirit. The statements made by participants (2 & 6) regarding the connection between the Xhosa beadwork and spirituality demonstrated the importance of beadwork in the Xhosa cul-

ture. Beadwork plays a significant role in every stage of traditional healer initiation ceremonies to differentiate between different stages. For example, in the first stage of initiation, they only use white beadwork. Then in later stages they start adding other colours, depending on which colours the ancestors recommended for the initiate. The colour of the beadwork has meaning, and not only the initiates wear them. For example, green beadwork represents a prophecy, which means a traditional healer wearing green beadwork is also able to prophesize, which is a very special gift.

Participant (1) spoke about the challenges facing the Xhosa culture:

Xhosa beadwork has been commercialized, there is a shop in Bellville that sells Xhosa beadwork. This shop is not even owned by a Xhosa person or black person, this is a problem, because Xhosa beadwork is also attached to spirituality. You cannot just buy beadwork, without having a proper [understanding] about them.

Participant (2) had this to say on the challenges facing the Xhosa culture:

There are loads of people who go to Xhosa traditional healers to seek for help, without being guarded by their ancestor to go to a certain traditional healer. Some Xhosa people dream about beadwork and go to a certain traditional for initiation, without having to wait for the ancestors to guard him/her further. They do that because they have money to do the initiation process. That can cause to things to go bad for that person. In the contemporary times, Xhosa traditional healers use western alcohol during the traditional healer ceremony. For example, traditional healers would write down a long list of alcohol beverages, like beer cases, ciders, and brandy. During the ancient times, Xhosa people only used umqombothi (African beer) during the traditional ceremony as a beer. Umqombothi is linked to the ancestors, because it is brewed by family members in the house. When umqombothi turns out good and is ready to be consumed by the people, family members say the ancestors have approved the ceremony. During the ancient times Xhosa people, used a tobacco called rhameti or hushu. BB were used by black people from other nations, not Xhosa people. The Xhosa people also use snuff now, because they were influenced by other black nations. During the ancient times, Xhosa people used isixhaxha or itshu. The reason for these cultural exchange, it is because the Xhosa nation is made out of few clans, other clans under the Xhosa nation are originally from KwaZulu Natal. They fled from Shaka Zulu, and they went

to Eastern Cape. They exchanged their culture with the Xhosa people. For example, an initiate could be a Mabamba (a clan that is original from the Xhosa nation) and her mother MamTola (a clan original from KwaZulu Natal) Tola people are not really Xhosa, they are amaMfengu, they fled from KwaZulu Natal. Ngwevu clan (is under the Xhosa nation) are not originally from the Xhosa nation. That is the reason why the Xhosa initiate (who has a father or mother who belongs to clan original from KwaZulu Natal). That is a reason why ancestors from her mother's side which Tola clan, would appear the ancient ancestors which were Zulus from her mother's side. The initiate would crave for a snuff, which is a tobacco that is used by these clans that are considered to be original from KwaZulu Natal.

I am also not a Xhosa, I am Mpondo from the Ntlane clan. My clan name is not really Nqabane, it is Qabane (Which translates to comrade), but we changed it during apartheid, because it was going to be problematic having a clan like that, because the apartheid government was going to assume that we are apartheid activists. For example, in Lusikisiki Libode (a part in the Eastern Cape dominated by Mpondo people) where my clan originated from, they refer to themselves as Qabane people, whereas the ones in Cape Town refer to themselves as Nqabane. If I followed the Mpondo culture, I would have to wear the Mpondo beadwork which consists of beadwork entailed with wool. But because my mother is MaBamba (a clan that is of Xhosa origin) a Xhosa, and I grew up around Xhosa people and my father relocated to a place dominated by Xhosa people. My father also adopted the Xhosa culture.

If you don't want to accept the calling, you will get bad luck. If I pass away while still as a Xhosa traditional healer, my beadwork has to be disconnected into pieces of glass beads. When you disconnect the beadwork, you remove them from the sewing thread: the fluffy tail of a cow has to be cut into pieces, returned to the kraal where the cow was slaughtered. The wild animal skin is also cut into pieces and returned to the wild where there are wild animals. Some of the glass beads are thrown into the river for the ancestors. Some of the glass beads are kept for someone in the family, you might get a calling. The person who gets a calling in the family will have to use these glass beads in the beginning of his/her initiation. If the beadwork of the deceased Xhosa traditional healer is not disconnected from the sewing thread, and there is someone in the family with the calling. That can result in bad things happening in the family, like family members passing away because of the wrath of the ancestors. Even if you are tired of being a Xhosa traditional healer you cannot throw away your traditional healer beadwork, you have to do a ceremony if you do not want your

beadwork.

Xhosa traditional healers are supposed to be pure, that means not use their powers to harm other people. As a Xhosa traditional healer, you cannot use your powers to do bad things, then also use your powers to do good things, because you do not mix those things. The person that makes beadwork for the Xhosa traditional healer, has to be paid with a cow, so the beadwork cannot harm the bead maker. Witch doctors are the ones who use their powers to harm people, because they do not go to initiation like the Xhosa traditional healers.

In the Xhosa traditional healing culture, red beadwork is associated with the river, because during the ancient times there were people who were killed during wars and were thrown in the river and their blood is there. Family members who died through car accidents or their blood spill when they died, the red beadwork also symbolizes them. But that does not mean you should go and do initiation through isindawa (isindawa usually uses the red beadwork). Just because you dreamed about red beadwork it does not mean go and do isindawa initiation. If you dream about green beadwork, they symbolize prophecy, meaning that there is God in a Xhosa traditional healer. That means you as a Xhosa traditional healer can also go to church, because the green beadwork symbolizes that she can also prophecies and also incorporates Christianity. It means that the traditional healer also prays to God. And the Xhosa traditional healer that incorporates Christianity, becomes very powerful. Because they do acknowledge that God is greater than the ancestors. Xhosa traditional healers know that the ancestors are closer to God, and they then pass the message to God.

Telling from the statements above by the participants, glass beads play a significant role in the Xhosa culture and spirituality. They are used as symbols to communicate with the ancestors and fellow tribe members. The Xhosa people have successfully managed to incorporate glass beads into their culture. They have put them together to produce new meaning that is understood by the Xhosa people and ancestors. The Xhosa beadwork is deeply embedded in the Xhosa culture. The ancestors play a very important role when it comes to selecting beadwork colours for the Xhosa traditional healer. This means that the ancestors also understand the beadwork system: they might know it better than the Xhosa people. Participants (2) and (3) said the same thing that, as a Xhosa traditional healer, you cannot just wear beadwork colours you like. You must wait for the ancestors to tell you which colours to wear.

The statements made by the Xhosa traditional healers suggest that there is a connection between Xhosa beadwork and spirituality, because beadwork is used whenever there is a ceremony involving the ancestors. For example, in the culture when the child is introduced to the ancestors, they do a ceremony called *imbeleko*, and they make a necklace that consists of white beadwork. Xhosa people that are knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork can tell that a beadwork for *imbeleko*, is made up of a necklace that consist of white beadwork with four knots between the beads.

Xhosa traditional healers wear beadwork during their initiation process, to differentiate between different stages in traditional healing initiations. When there is a traditional ceremony in the Xhosa culture, the person appointed by the ancestors to lead in slaughtering the cow must wear beadwork colours chosen by the ancestors as a way of respecting the ceremony. This is what is meant when it is stated that beadwork is used to communicate with the ancestors and with fellow tribe members, because people are told by looking at the beadwork you are wearing.

Some of the participants are traditional healers and they have been practicing traditional healing for many years, and their views carry weight. Participant (2) states that light blue Xhosa beadwork symbolizes the sky, which gives us energy, while white beadwork is said to represent purity and enlightenment. Xhosa traditional healers wear mostly white beadwork, because a Xhosa traditional healing is regarded as pure and enlightening. While I was conducting the research, I discovered that Xhosa traditional healers believe that the ancestors want traditional healers that will be pure to communicate with him/her. It is said that if a Xhosa traditional healer cannot be pure, he/she will use his/her powers to harm other people. People that use their powers to harm others are called witchdoctors, and they do not get their position and recognition from the ancestors. For example, participants 2, who is a Xhosa traditional healer described a witchdoctor as someone who had not gone through the traditional healing initiation that Xhosa traditional healers go through.

The white beadwork helps the Xhosa traditional healer to be enlightened. He/she will be able to have visions about how to see things spiritually. The beadwork is like antennas, they help the traditional healer to connect with the ancestors. According to participant (2) sometimes Xhosa traditional healers are required to abstain from intercourse so that they can be pure and clean and so that the ancestors can be able to use them to help the people. The participant (2) made an example of a woman who, despite being married, had to abstain from intercourse forever. Her husband had to marry a second wife and the first had to focus on her traditional healing. The white beadwork dominates in the Xhosa traditional healing culture because they symbolize enlightenment.

The Xhosa cultural activists see hybridization as something negative, because it changes the identity of the Xhosa culture. Xhosa cultural activists assume that culture is stagnant, they do not want the Xhosa culture to evolve. Perhaps we should not look at hybridization as only a negative impact on the Xhosa culture. We should also be able to look at the positive aspects of hybridization. The Western culture is also not pure, it is intertwined with Xhosa culture. It keeps the Xhosa culture from dying. Xhosa cultural activists want to keep the Xhosa culture authentic. They claim that it will lose its meaning if it changes. It seems that they are selective when it comes to changes, because they do not consider other elements borrowed from the Western culture as a threat to identity or purity. The elements borrowed from the Western culture have been part of the Xhosa culture for so long that the Xhosa cultural activists think that such elements are Xhosa. Xhosa cultural activists that I interviewed, did not talk about glass beads being a hybrid. They stated that they are part of the Xhosa culture, and Xhosa people need to embrace them and stop wearing beadwork from other black nations. One of the participants (1) who is a bead maker stated that Xhosa clients order beadwork from him, but they ask for beadwork that is part of other nations like Zulu, or Swati. He stated that such confusion is caused by their lack of understanding their own culture and the typical Xhosa beadwork. He stated that you cannot just wear beadwork that belongs to other black nations, because they might cause damage to you spiritually. Other black South Africans also attach spirituality to beadwork, just like the Xhosa culture. For instance, someone from another nation cannot just wear beadwork that is worn only by Xhosa traditional healers. That person might get harmed, because that beadwork is connected to the ancestors. A Xhosa cannot wear white beadwork or beadwork that is for Xhosa traditional healers unless that person is wearing it for spiritual reasons. All white beadwork in the culture is associated with the ancestors – one wears all white beadwork for spiritual reasons.

That is the reason one of the participants (1) had a problem with the Xhosa clients coming to him asking for beadwork that belonged to other black cultures. Not all beadwork is worn for beauty's sake. The participant (1) also provided an example about Xhosa people wearing *umqhele*⁵. He said Xhosa people wear beadwork as a crown, and in general Xhosa people are not big at wearing animal skins unless it is a Xhosa traditional healer. But the Xhosa culture is also influenced by other black nations. One of the participants, who is a Xhosa traditional healer, mentioned the Xhosa culture is influenced by clans that were incorporated into the Xhosa nation. She stated there are clans within the Xhosa nation, that came from other black nations to seek refuge in the Xhosa nation. These clans fled from KwaZulu Natal during the *imfecane* war. They sought refuge in what is known

⁵ *Umqhele* means a Zulu crown made of animal skin (also see page 30).

today as the Eastern Cape.

The Xhosa people identify these clans as AmaMfengu, which translates as refugees. AmaMfengu are clans that reside amongst the Xhosa people and can be traced back to KwaZulu Natal. According to the Xhosa traditional healer that I interviewed, AmaMfengu brought their influences to the Xhosa people while they were influenced by Xhosa people.

The participant (2) stated that green beadwork represents prophecy, a gift from God. If a Xhosa traditional healer has dreams or visions about green beadwork, that means they can also prophesize, and they believe that is a gift from God. In contrast, non-prophesizing Xhosa traditional healers get their calling from the ancestors only. The ability to prophesize represents a merging between Christianity and Xhosa Spirituality. A Xhosa traditional healer should consult with his/her ancestors when they want to help someone, and the ancestors reveal it to the traditional healer whereas the traditional healer with prophecy gets his/her powers from God. This means that a traditional healer with prophecy can also attend church if he/she wishes to. There are churches in South Africa that embrace the black African culture: The Revelation Church of God and the Nazareth Baptist Church accommodate traditional healers bestowed with the ability to prophesize. This phenomenon is an example of hybridization, where African Indigenous Knowledge (prophesizing) intertwines with Western culture (Christianity).

In the Xhosa traditional healer ceremonies Western alcohol is extensively used. Participant (2) stated that Xhosa traditional healers drink beer, ciders, and Western alcoholic beverages. In the ancient times, *umqombothi* was made by the family members, and was approved by the ancestors. When *umqombothi* (African beer) was ready, the people would say the ancestors has approved the ceremony, because *umqombothi* turned out ready. In the Xhosa Spirituality, water is considered very important because it is where the ancestors are found. To become a Xhosa traditional healer, you should also go to the river as part of the initiation. It is also said that if you receive a calling, but you do not accept it, you should stay away from the beach, because you will get abducted by the ancestors through drowning. Another thing that shows that the Xhosa Spirituality has evolved is the traditional healer stated that Western institutions are used as symbols to decipher dreams. She stated that authority represents (police, modern soldiers) your ancestors coming to defend you from your enemy. In ancient times police and soldiers did not exist in Xhosa culture: spirituality is not stagnant it reflects modern society.

The Xhosa traditional healer mentioned how these clans of AmaMfengu people fled from KwaZulu

Natal during the *imfecane* war and were assimilated into the Xhosa community. According to participant (2) Xhosa people were never into snuff, which is a smokeless tobacco in powder form that is snorted up the nose or rubbed into the gums. It was the Mfengu people that introduced snuff to the Xhosa people. The Xhosa people used to use *isixhaxha*. The Xhosa traditional healers use to snort snuff, because of the Mfengu influences. Participant (2) explained that this is so because when an initiate gets a calling, an ancestor enters the person and that ancestor could be from the mother's side. As Participant 6 stated:

There is a beadwork worn on the head called isiqweqwe, it meant to keep a person's mind stable. So that if a person was all over the place, then has to be calm. That has to wear a beadwork called ithumbu, the beadwork is meant to cover the shoulders. There is also another beadwork worn by intlabi (a person chosen by the family to lead when the family is slaughtering an animal for a traditional ceremony) called isidanga. This beadwork is meant to differentiate intlabi from the rest of the family members. Intlabi has to wear a beadwork called vula kabini, other Xhosa people call it phalaza because it spreads in front of the body. The colours of vula kabini or phalaza beadwork depends on the person, but powder blue and navy beadwork are usually worn intlabi. There is a beadwork meant for the waist, and it is called idiliza, it is worn by women and men and it is meant to keep the stable/dignity. A person can choose what colours to use on the silica beadwork or the ancestors can choose the colours for that person.

The previous chapters in this research state that glass beads are hybrids in the Xhosa culture: they were brought by the Europeans to the Xhosa people. This chapter uses statements made by the participants to go into detail and demonstrate the impact of hybridization in the Xhosa culture. Hybridization has become part of the Xhosa culture. Before the introduction of Christianity by Europeans, Xhosa people were already spiritual, they believed in *Qamata* (God in Xhosa) and the ancestors. According to the Xhosa traditional healer participant, Xhosa people believe the ancestors are closer to *Qamata* (God) and they use them to talk to God. During the initiation process, beadwork is used in every stage to symbolize different stages and they add more beadwork with different colours on the initiate. The answers given by candidates demonstrate how hybridization is deeply embedded in the Xhosa beadwork. We embrace hybridization, because we advocate for Xhosa beadwork, which has assimilated elements of Western culture and religion. That cannot stop us from protecting and preserving what remains as pure Xhosa culture.

The Xhosa belief in ancestral powers would represent such a pure element still prevalent in Xhosa

culture. When it comes to the Xhosa culture you are also dealing with the ancestors. As a traditional healer, you cannot wear any beadwork you like, because you might get punished by the ancestors. It is also crucial to acknowledge that the culture of the black nations, including the Xhosa, had been undermined by Europeans for centuries – they were regarded primitive, a view that included African Indigenous Knowledge as primitive. When we promote AIK, we are also trying to correct the injustices of the past.

5.4 How can African Indigenous Knowledge through beadwork be promoted in the school curriculum?

Participant (5) shared about the issue of beadwork and education:

In my organisation we work with school kids, we use arts (performance arts, drama, Xhosa traditional music and Xhosa beadwork) to educate them about the importance of Xhosa culture. We don't use deep Xhosa words to educate them, because we want them to understand the Xhosa concepts properly. They are taught types of beadwork, Xhosa traditional music, values of the Xhosa culture: these are not done in a formal way...they are done through performance, because it is easy for kids to learn when they are having fun. Xhosa traditional music usually contains messages that educate the people. We break those songs down, so the kids can understand them. We want to teach them how the Xhosa people use to do things, because we want to instil those values in them.

Participant (6) added on the issue of education and Xhosa culture:

I usually teach people who are willing to learn about Xhosa beadwork, I teach them how to make a beadwork called ithumbu, isiqweqwe beadwork and other beadwork styles. But I don't have to teach about bead making on a full time basis, because I have a full time job that keeps me busy. I have also taught the woman sitting next to me during the lockdown. I would also like to teach school kids when I'm not busy.

Participant (1) said on the issue of Xhosa beadwork and education:

I work with two other bead makers, and we usually get booked to come talk and teach about Xhosa beadwork in workshops. We also work with Xhosa bead makers from other

parts of Cape Town, whereby we sharpen each other's skills when it comes to bead making.

Some of the people that I have interviewed make Xhosa beadwork and they also pass their knowledge to others by teaching them how to make beadwork and how to interpret them. It is also important that Xhosa bead makers get enough support from the South African government. These people contribute to the tourism industry in South Africa. Tourists usually buy these beadwork, because they find it interesting. For example, there is a Ndebele woman called Esther Mahlangu who paints Ndebele patterns. She has also collaborated with big brands from overseas. I believe that Xhosa bead makers can become like Esther Mahlangu if they are given enough support. These participants do not make a living from making beadwork. They have other jobs which takes most of their time. One of the participants (6) stated she does teach the people how to make beadwork, but she only teaches them on certain days, because she is busy most of the time. The government can also use this initiative to reduce unemployment by employing skilled bead makers to teach the craft at schools. We need these types of people to be allowed by the government to be part of the education system in South Africa. For example, there are well known Xhosa cultural artists like Dr Nokuzola Mndende, who promote African Indigenous Knowledge systems. People like Dr Nokuzola Mndende should be allowed by the government to conduct and facilitate bead making initiatives, because they are more passionate about the Xhosa culture than the government. The minister of education can monitor the initiatives and provide the right tools to ensure that African Indigenous Knowledge thrive in schools. Young Xhosa cultural activists should be part of these initiatives and so should people with creative ideas. They will bring in fresh ideas on how to incorporate technology with the African Indigenous Knowledge, thereby forming more hybridization.

5.5 Synthesis

This chapter has discussed how hybridization contributed to Xhosa beadwork. It went into detail showing the importance of beadwork in Xhosa Spirituality. Xhosa beadwork is involved in every level of the initiation process on becoming a Xhosa traditional healer. This chapter has also revealed that there are white traditional healers who got initiated as healers through Xhosa spiritual training. There are also Western concepts being used in the Xhosa spiritual world, namely the deciphering of dreams. This chapter has also discussed how the African Indigenous Knowledge is used to educate people and how it could possibly be incorporated more into the state school system.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Implications

6.1 Introduction

The research topic was chosen as a way of promoting African Indigenous Knowledge: the Xhosa culture has suffered under colonization and Apartheid. The Western culture tends to dominate Xhosa culture, which causes the young people to not have enough interest in it.

I set out to investigate traditional Xhosa clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colour as they are being used in Xhosa beadwork. The research was designed as qualitative research, which comprised interviewing experts on beadwork and traditional clothing in the Xhosa culture. Observations were noted or recorded to be applied during the study. The boundaries of the research were determined by the availability and interest of participants. Few beadwork experts remain and in addition to that, I could not interview great numbers of people, because of the Covid-19 pandemic. It was risky to even interview the participating six people.

The research question was posed: *How can beadwork contribute to the promotion of African Indigenous Knowledge in a South African context?* The sub-questions were as follows: *How and to what extent did hybridization contribute to Xhosa beadwork? How can African Indigenous Knowledge through beadwork be promoted in the school curriculum?*

I conducted a research study based on investigating traditional clothes, beadwork, and the symbolic values of colours as they are being used in Xhosa culture. I interviewed 6 participants who are knowledgeable about the Xhosa beadwork, traditional clothes, and values. Some of the participants are Xhosa traditional healers. They helped bring in data that links Xhosa beadwork and spirituality. The remaining participants are Xhosa cultural activists and bead makers. They added another perspective to the research study, which is about the Xhosa culture.

6.2 Conclusion from findings and implications

The research revealed that certain elements of Xhosa beadwork are entangled with elements of Western culture. Consequently, when we promote the African Indigenous Knowledge, we are not saying it is pure. I acknowledge that African Indigenous Knowledge is intertwined with Western culture, but I believe Western culture should not dominate African Indigenous Knowledge. There should be a balance. Indigenous knowledge should be given more attention in such a way that it represents a large demographic of the country.

I discovered that hybridization contributed a great deal to Xhosa beadwork. An example of hybridization would be the accommodation of white traditional healers. According to participant (2) white traditional healers initiated into the Xhosa Spirituality are very powerful, because white people are always around water. White people love going to the beach and many have a swimming pool at home. Their children are encouraged to learn how to swim at an early age. In the Xhosa Spirituality water (river) is very important, because an initiate must cross the river as part of the initiation. The ancestors are considered to reside in the river.

During the interviews, I was surprised that in the Xhosa Spiritual world beadwork colours are chosen by the ancestors and they communicate through dreams and visions. Consequently, Xhosa people who believe in the ancestors use beadwork to communicate with ancestors. Xhosa beadwork plays a significant role in the Xhosa Spirituality. When a Xhosa person keeps on dreaming about beadwork, it might be a sign that the person has a calling. During traditional healing initiation ceremonies, different kinds of beadwork are used to differentiate between the various stages of initiation. The white beadwork represents the ancestors, and the powder blue beadwork represents the ancestors that reside in the river. When the initiates return after having swam across the river, they wear the powder blue beadwork. In the next stage of the initiation process, the initiates wear another colour beadwork that is also associated with the river. Then the colour of the beadwork is navy blue. The initiate must also wear red beadwork that represents those ancestors who had died in an accident or who had their blood spilled in any violent way. The green beadwork represents prophecy, which means a Xhosa traditional healer can also prophesize. Prophesying links Xhosa Spirituality and Christianity.

Beadwork in the Xhosa nation is used for different reasons, namely for spirituality, beauty, and to show your position in the Xhosa society. According to participant 1, a Xhosa person may not wear all white beadwork just for the sake of beauty, because that person might harm him- or herself spiritually. Xhosa beadwork cannot be generalized, meaning not all Xhosa traditional healers wear

the same beadwork. Sometimes it depends on the beadwork colour chosen by the ancestors for the traditional healer. In the Xhosa culture, sometimes people choose by themselves which beadwork colour to wear. For example, *intlabi* (a person chosen by the family to lead when the family is slaughtering an animal for a traditional ceremony) could choose which beadwork colour to wear or the ancestors could choose for him.

During the interviews, I discovered that some of the participants (1, 5 & 6) are also working with people who are willing to learn about Xhosa beadwork. Participant (1) stated that he has organised workshops to teach learners how to make Xhosa beadwork. Participant (1) emphasise on the importance of teaching learners about the meaning of Xhosa beadwork, before making beadwork for them. Participant (5) works mostly with primary school learners, and his organisation uses different mediums to teach the learners, like drama, Xhosa music, and Xhosa beadwork. Participant (6) states she teaches people who are willing to be taught by her, but she is busy most of the time, because she must work.

Beadwork workshops in schools could be helpful, because this is another way of promoting indigenous knowledge. Learners should be taught by the people that are knowledgeable about Xhosa beadwork. Some of the Xhosa bead makers are unemployed. The government could employ them to do these workshops at schools. The beadwork workshops should be linked with the Xhosa subject, because to understand the meaning of some of the Xhosa beadwork you need to have a better understanding of the Xhosa language and concepts. Xhosa beadwork is more than just understanding the colours, but also the concepts used to break down the meaning of them. Xhosa children who grew up in the townships usually have difficulty understanding the deep Xhosa concepts.

I will integrate some of the statements by Mawere to further support my thesis about how Indigenous Knowledge could contribute to the educational system. Mawere writes about Indigenous Knowledge and public education in Sub-Saharan Africa, which is similar to my topic. Mawere states that Indigenous Knowledge could be used in the education system to teach language, reclaim humanity and cultural identity in learners (Mawere: 2015, 63). In the Xhosa culture, ubuntu (humanity) is something that was practiced a great deal, because a person is a person through other persons. Nowadays Xhosa people have been modernised, and adopted a culture based on individualism. Ubuntu could be very helpful, in the South African education system: it needs to be emphasised at schools.

South Africa as a society is a violent country, and it is reflected in schools, especially the public

schools. We see on the news and social media videos of learners stabbing each other or stabbing the teachers. Some of the teachers are also not leading by example, some of whom have affairs with their learners. If ubuntu was emphasised at schools, learners would be respectful to each other and respectful to their teachers. Ubuntu means that a learner could share lunch with a classmate who does not have food for lunch. A teacher should also treat learners like his/her children. Schools, especially in the townships, could become a safe environment if Ubuntu is practiced at schools.

Mawere also mentions that we need to de-racialise African educational systems: he says that a bilingual or multilingual education allows the full participation of all learners (Mawere: 2015, 61). It would be helpful to introduce more black authors/academics in the education system to make the curriculum accommodate Indigenous Knowledge. The South African education system should be decolonized. Black learners should also be encouraged to read books in their mother tongue, because indigenous languages could become extinct if learners are not encouraged. Indigenous languages should also be accommodated in the work place, because learners will not see the need of indigenous language if it is not spoken in the work place. For example, in most jobs it is required for a candidate to be able to read and write well in English. Candidates who have the qualifications, but cannot write well in English are excluded. In some jobs, candidates are also expected to have their own car: most of the time this negatively affect black candidates from the township since owning a car is far beyond their means. If we are going to decolonize the education system, we must make the conditions in the work place also favourable for black people.

My contribution was to show how to take Xhosa knowledge and balance it with the Western culture by re-interpreting Xhosa knowledge through a Western paradigm of thinking and thereby to produce an academic thesis. I found it very challenging to interpret the Xhosa concepts through Western eyes and to translate the Xhosa language to English. Some of the concepts are not fully captured, the meaning gets diluted when translated into English. Sometimes a single Xhosa word requires a full sentence to properly translate into English. Western thinking is based on the premise that only scientific facts can serve as proof of truth and credibility, but you might find it difficult to prove the stories about the ancestors as scientifically factual or real. Belief comes into play. For example, when we state that the ancestors communicate with Xhosa traditional healers through dreams and visions, it might not make any sense in the Western culture. Yet, in the Xhosa culture and in the terms of Xhosa Indigenous Knowledge, the notion is completely credible. It could be denied as truth, but not as *knowledge*, because we *know* what we believe.

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